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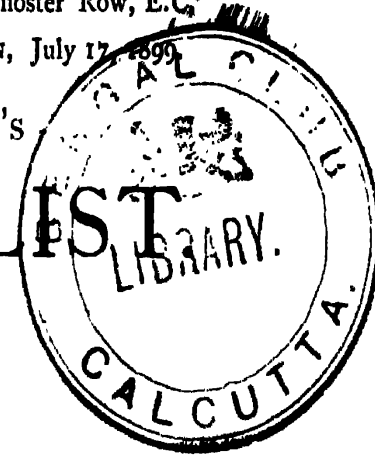
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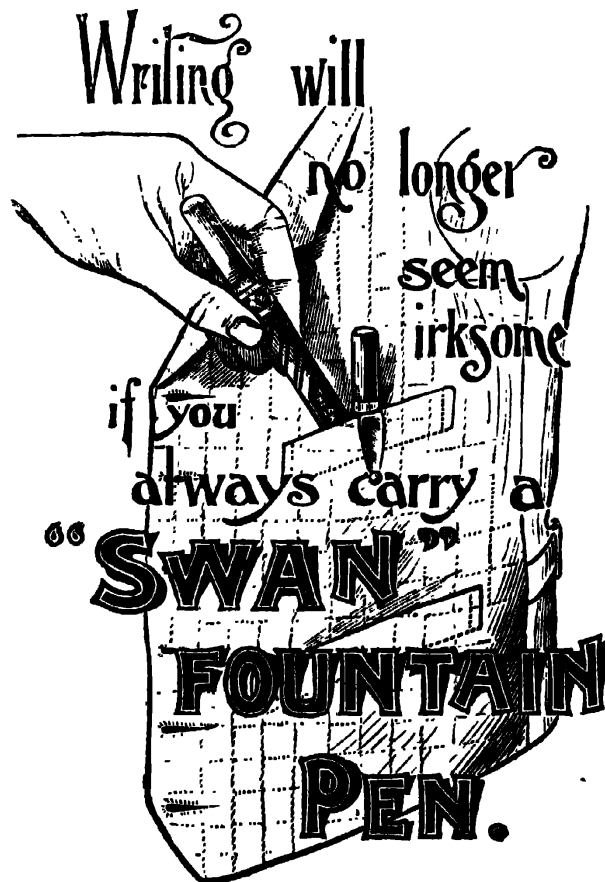
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ART. I.—1. *Budget Speeches 1815–1899.*

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TO survey the public finance of Great Britain during the course of the nineteenth century is a task as formidable as it is possible to undertake. Yet the time for such an attempt is upon us, seeing that the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his next budget will trench upon the twentieth century. And besides, though there is no actual crisis, there is no lack of change in this important sphere of public policy. Upon the structure raised by the fathers of British finance other master-builders and architects are engaged with designs of a new pattern, and it is desirable to examine their projects, and decide as far as possible upon the repairs or damages in prospect, or actually achieved.

It may be said that the history of British public finance during the current century falls naturally into three epochs, and that the first of these runs up to the year 1825. That period, so glorious in our annals of conquest, was disastrous in finance, and may be briefly dismissed with the reflection that in it were created the problems of the succeeding fifty years. We emerged from war with a debt of some 900,000,000*l.*, and when the income-tax was abolished in 1816, with taxation so adjusted as to fall with crushing weight upon poverty and productive industry, while property went comparatively free. But Britain is never long without statesmen equal to an emergency. Soon began that remarkable resurrection of the Tory party when Sidmouth gave way to Robert Peel at the Home Office, and Castlereagh to Canning in foreign affairs, while finance dropped from the hands of the incompetent

Vansittart into those of Robinson at the Treasury and Huskisson at the Board of Trade.

The next epoch covered the succeeding fifty years and was definitely terminated by 1875. Finance was a governing subject in those days, and its two chief exponents, Peel and Gladstone, rose naturally to supreme place. One led the Conservative, and the other the Liberal, party, but both were scholars in the same school, and were as father and son in the service of the commonwealth. Thus finance made its exit as it were from the arena of party politics, and a steady and consistent national policy was pursued. One main idea that dominated in the councils of this middle age was restriction in expenditure. For many years this principle met with such general acceptance that in 1853, the year prior to the outbreak of the Crimean War, the expenditure stood at the very figure with which the epoch in question began. Then ensued a formidable contest of opposing views, in which the leading champions were Palmerston for a more liberal outlay, and Gladstone for the old policy of restriction. For about ten years from 1853 expenditure grew rapidly, thanks in the main to the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny. But in 1862 a motion for economy was carried in the House of Commons, and shortly after retrenchment resumed its reign. Some years later, in 1870, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in making his budget speech, after announcing certain reductions in the army and navy expenditure, proceeded to inquire into the cause of the singular prosperity in our national finance. 'The secret of all this success,' he said, 'is the simplest in the world—it is nothing on earth but economy,' and he added that he looked for continued progress in this direction. Strange delusion to have cherished in 1870, the year of the Education Act, and, in a very different order, of the Franco-German War!

Two motives for the policy thus described readily present themselves. The burden of the national debt accumulated during the Napoleonic struggle was very serious, our predecessors at the commencement of the present reign having to devote over 58 per cent. of their total expenditure to its annual service, or nearly three times the present proportion. Again, the need of the time was considered to be the remission of taxation, as is illustrated by the fact that the Conservative Government formed in 1841 remitted no less than over a quarter of the customs revenue, while the Government of 1874 may be said to have concluded the

epoch by reducing the income-tax in that year to 2*d.* in the pound. Thus, if so large a portion of the national revenue was needed for the discharge of the debt, and remissions of taxation so extensive were in progress, it is clear that there were strong inducements upon our statesmen to retrench in expenditure. These motives tended no doubt to decrease in force as the burden of the debt diminished, and as the revenue, in spite of continued remissions, advanced by leaps and bounds. But they were fostered and kept alive by the influence of Mr. Gladstone, whose devotion to economy lasted into an age that saw its duty in another light.

Yet the real causes that made economy possible lay deeper, and in the history, not of Britain, but of Europe. The peoples of Europe were sick of fighting, and would not frame their policy to meet the event of another such conflagration as that in which they had lost so much. In England our volunteers, our national defences, our fleet and army, declined, or at least did not progress, so that it was not till the Crimean War that a strong reaction arose in favour of an enhanced outlay upon national defences, and even then the strong hand of Mr. Gladstone presently reasserted its grasp. But he was assisted by a cause profounder than the will of any single man. The only fundamental justification of public expenditure is that the money thus spent can be applied by the State to better purpose than if it 'fructifies 'in the pockets of the people.' But in the sixties and early seventies it was fructifying prodigiously in their pockets. Hence with wars all round us—the Italian, the Austrian, the Danish, the American Civil War, and the Franco-German War—we steadily continued to remit taxation, and therefore necessarily to practise public economy.

It was with 1875 that the third and last epoch of the century may be reckoned to have definitely begun. In that year our army, navy, and civil service cost us altogether 38,000,000*l.*, against an estimated amount of about 70,000,000*l.* for the year ending on March 31, 1900. This means an increase between the two years in question of about 32,000,000*l.* Of this the civil services account for 9,000,000*l.*, and the primary question arises as to the cause of this particular expansion. It can be very easily accounted for: 7,000,000*l.* of this increase is due to education, while the balance of 2,000,000*l.* is to be explained as the result of the enormous increase of duties thrust upon the civil service both by Parliament and by a growth of population during the last quarter of a century. It bears out in a striking

manner the conclusion as to the admirable economy of the civil service arrived at by Mr. Goschen in his budget speech of 1887. In reviewing the twenty preceding years he stated: 'It is a remarkable fact that out of the increase of 8,000,000*l.* in the cost of the civil service during the last twenty years, no less a sum than 7,600,000*l.* is due to the direct action of Parliament, and only 400,000*l.* is an administrative increase.'

The remainder of this total rise of 82,000,000*l.* is to be accounted for by an expansion of 23,000,000*l.* in our naval and military outlay. Of this latter total about 6,000,000*l.* is due to the army, and about 17,000,000*l.* to the navy. The former figure is the price we have had to pay for avoiding conscription, and also for creating an army as understood in the modern sense. It was the stricken fields of Sadowa in 1866 and of Sedan in 1870 that woke this country to the unpalatable truth that though we possessed a number of regiments, we had no army. In 1871 that great administrator, Lord Cardwell, delivered a speech upon this subject which may not unjustly be said to have marked an epoch. 'It is my policy,' he declared, 'to lay the firm foundation of a defensive force which may be a perfect security to the country, not merely against danger, but against that which is scarcely less intolerable to the spirit and independence of Englishmen—the perpetually recurring apprehension of danger.' To build up an army on such sound economic lines has been the work of succeeding years of expenditure. That the cost has been vast is indubitable, but it is equally indubitable that our army has not been organised on too lavish a scale for the duties which it has to perform in this country, India, Egypt, and the Cape. Consider, for instance, our tiny force of cavalry, consisting—if the Household Troops and Scots Greys are excluded—of only twenty-seven regiments, only a portion of which, again, are on a war footing. Consider again that during recent years wages have risen, and that this by competition must force up the pay of the soldier, who otherwise would not enlist in a volunteer army.

Turning from the army to the navy, it is a remarkable fact that during the first ten years of this period, from 1875 to 1884, naval expenditure scarcely advanced at all. Our statesmen were decidedly averse to an increased outlay upon our first line of defence, and public opinion was not stirred to put pressure upon them. In those years of Conservative government prior to 1880 it had been the theory that we

should build 12,000 tons a year, but this theory had been so entirely neglected that only about half that number of tons had been built in 1879, and, in fact, our fleet, both as regards ships and guns, was seriously in arrear. During the next four years, up to 1884, there was more order introduced into our naval policy, and the plan was adopted officially of 'beginning two armour-plated ships for every 'one which the French Government have begun.' But so strict was the economy practised that in 1883 our naval expenditure was actually smaller than what it had been in 1875. In December 1884, however, a new age of naval expenditure was opened by Lord Northbrook; the real motive force behind the so-called 'Northbrook programme' then adopted being, undoubtedly, the naval activity of France. The Minister declared, indeed, that 'our expenditure at the present time on the construction of armour-plated 'ships is very much larger than the expenditure on the construction of such ships by the French Government;' but he admitted, on the other hand, that 'as regards ships 'being constructed by the two nations at the present time, 'there are more ships being constructed at this moment by 'the French than by ourselves.'

The next epoch in naval expenditure runs from 1885 up to 1889. In March of the latter year Lord George Hamilton announced that 'the programme known as the Northbrook 'programme is practically complete,' and he proposed another—eventually embodied in the Naval Defence Act—to take its place, in view of the great and rapid growth in the navies of Europe. Financially speaking, the plan was to spend 21,500,000*l.* extra upon the navy over a series of years ending in 1896.

From the date of the programme thus announced by Lord George Hamilton in 1889, up to the end of the century, we have been living in a perfect whirl of programmes. Three years subsequent to 1889 there was another programme, to be followed by the great programme of Lord Spencer in 1894. Let us summarise the total product of these three schemes by quoting Mr. Goschen: 'Adding 'the 70 ships built under the Naval Defence Act, the '12 under the intermediate programme, and the 23 under 'Lord Spencer's programme, we reach the total of 105 'ships and 62 torpedo-boat destroyers which have been 'commenced, part of them finished, and part still under 'construction, between 1889 and 1896.' This was uttered in the latter year; and, to conclude the whole story, in 1896

another programme was launched, calculated to conclude with this century.

In considering this remarkable increase of 32,000,000*l.* in expenditure during the last quarter of a century, the major part of which—namely, 23,000,000*l.*—arises from outlay upon the army and navy, the question naturally arises as to its justification. ‘I sorrowfully admit,’ said Mr. Gladstone in his budget speech of 1882, ‘that the contagion and sympathy of foreign countries necessarily affects us.’ This regretful recognition of a necessity has been felt by both parties, and both must share the blame or credit for the change of policy consequent thereupon. It was a Liberal, Lord Spencer, who inaugurated the great programme of 1894; it was a Conservative Government which, in the years prior to 1880, displayed an extreme devotion to economy in naval expenditure. But is not this final and general agreement of both parties as to the necessity of the case a powerful and cogent proof of the real existence of that necessity? Again, it is quite clear that in the earlier stages we moved most tardily and with the most sincere and genuine reluctance. In fact it was not till 1888, when Lord Wolseley had declared in the House of Lords that ‘as long as the navy is as weak as it is at this moment her Majesty’s army cannot hold its own,’ that public opinion may be said to have turned in favour of a consistent and extensive programme of naval works. More than this, such a departure could not in the nature of things have been taken by the British people without reasons of almost overpowering weight. For it was a renunciation of the characteristic policy so long pursued by a nation which, knowing itself to be vulnerable, preached the sage doctrines of peace and free trade amid the rivalries of Europe. So as long as possible—and perhaps dangerously long—we shut our eyes to the armies upon the Continent and to the new fleets upon the waters. Surely no impartial judge will on this score condemn the British people, that they plunged into expenditure from a love of extravagance or from a love of war.

But let us descend from the general to the particular. Is our fleet, for instance, too big for the duties which it has to perform and the enemies which it may have to meet? It has been since 1889 the accepted national policy to maintain a fleet of a strength equal to that of any two powers in combination against us. How far have we attained to this ideal standard for our fleet? It is estimated that at

the end of the current year France will possess thirty-three battleships and Russia eighteen, or a total of fifty-one, against our total of forty-six. This is not altogether what might have been hoped for after such an enormous effort upon our part. But we may be consoled by the reflection that one-half of our battleships are of the first class, while France and Russia have only fifteen in this class. Another source of satisfaction is that though cruisers must not be put in the same line with battleships, we shall possess no less than 137 cruisers, against the ninety-two owned by France and Russia. Perhaps, without entering more deeply into the question, it may be said that we have fairly accomplished that which we have set out to do, or at least have not overstepped the bounds of our accepted national policy.

The question remains as to the future. Is our future expenditure on armaments to be as vast as that of recent years? In his speech of March 9 last, in introducing the navy estimates, Mr. Goschen was not very hopeful:—

‘I have studied the programmes of other nations, and that study has not been very reassuring. It is not only the powers who may be our possible opponents, but there has been an immense increase in shipbuilding on the part of other nations, which of late years have only begun to enter into what I may call the naval competition. I look to the estimates of the two most powerful nations, France and Russia. The increase in the French estimates for naval construction is very small. In the case of Russia it is very different. I have now to state, on behalf of Her Majesty’s Government, that, similarly, if the other great rival powers should be prepared to diminish their programmes of shipbuilding, we should be prepared on our side to meet such a procedure by modifying ours.’

On the whole, however, two considerations lead us to take a more hopeful view, the first of which affects foreign nations, and the second is more closely related to our own will. Though shipbuilding is expensive for us, it is far more expensive for others. For instance, a battleship costs France over 100,000*l.* more than it costs us, while the excess is even greater in the matter of cruisers. The other, and more important, consideration is whether, now that we have established the most powerful navy ever known, and that, according to Mr. Goschen, other nations more friendly to us, such as Japan and America, are also establishing fine fleets, the time has not come for us to modify the plan of dogging so closely the increase in the fleets of France and Russia, on the twofold ground that as our friends now have fleets we shall scarcely be so isolated as hitherto upon

the ocean, and also that the indefinite extension of our navy is calculated in the long run to impair its standard of efficiency and to render it less popular with the taxpayer than before.

The task of comparing the principles which governed the finance of the central period of this century with those which have predominated in its closing quarter now leads us to a second branch of the subject. The financiers of the earlier period adhered to unity in the expenditure of the public income—that is to say, they concentrated the national revenue upon purely national ends, namely, the discharge of the debt, the army, the navy, and the civil service. Two exceptions to the above statement should, however, be noticed. Sir Robert Peel had always argued that a ground for maintaining the Corn Laws was that land was subject to exceptional burdens, and that Protection was a fair compensation to landowners. Accordingly, when he himself in 1846 decided to repeal the Corn Laws, he felt bound to make some compensation to the land, and passed a measure in that year for the provision of a sum of something under 350,000*l.* from the national revenue for the annual relief of certain local charges. The other exception was that, ten years later, it having been found that the permissive system of rural police had proved a failure, an Act was passed providing compulsorily for an adequate supply of police, and allocating a certain sum towards the maintenance of such a body. Not to mention other similar appropriations of minor importance, it may be said that prior to 1874 the annual amount allocated from public moneys to local purposes did not amount to two and a half millions a year.

We have unquestionably departed from the policy thus described. In 1874 a new stage was entered upon when Sir Stafford Northcote in the budget of that year added the large sum of a million and a quarter to the existing annual subventions or grants-in-aid. The next important dates are 1888 and 1890. Let us, in order to avoid encumbering details, confine ourselves to the total effect upon England of the measures of those years. In the first place, the major part of the subventions hitherto granted to local authorities in England were abolished, to the amount of 2,600,000*l.* a year. Instead, the bulk of the excise licenses were handed over, and as these produced about 3,000,000*l.*, English local authorities thus netted a gain of 400,000*l.* But this was by no means all. Simultaneously one-half of the probate duty was placed at the

disposal of the local authorities of the United Kingdom, and as England's share in this was about 80 per cent., here was a further grant to her of about 2,200,000*l.* Nor is the list yet exhausted. Additional duties on beer and spirits were imposed by the Government and similarly handed over, and here again England's share was about 1,000,000*l.*; while a similar policy was adopted in the cases of Scotland and Ireland. Since that time there has been the Act for the Relief of Agricultural Rates and the subvention to Ireland under the terms of the Irish Local Government Act. But the whole matter may be summarised by stating that at present the subventions to local authorities from imperial funds constitute a charge about six times greater than that in the years preceding 1874.

The causes of this striking change of policy deserve a brief analysis. During the years preceding 1874 there had been a growing conception of the duties of Government, enhanced, no doubt, by the remarkable legislative activity of the ministry of that period, which had succeeded to the indolence of the closing years of Palmerston. Simultaneously there was a deepening sense of the inefficiency of the provision made by local authorities for the needs of the country. This twofold sentiment had a twofold result. Parliament, anxious for the reform of local prisons and local police, stepped forward with large appropriations from public funds; while simultaneously Acts were passed, such as the Local Loans Act of 1875, granting to local authorities facilities for raising money to defray the cost of an improved system. Those powers were grasped at once with the utmost alacrity, and, so far as borrowing removes the burden on the present to a later day, the claims of local authorities upon the central treasury were no doubt postponed. But they were postponed only for a time. The local debt increased so greatly that from being almost 100,000,000*l.* in 1875 it had grown to slightly over 200,000,000*l.* in 1891, and since that time has rapidly advanced. No doubt a portion of this debt, such as harbour or dock loans, is not charged on the rates. A further portion—such, for instance, as gaswork or waterwork loans—is secured in many instances primarily on the revenues of the undertakings in respect of which it has been raised, and constitutes a charge on the rates only to the extent to which those revenues may be found insufficient to meet the payments of the principal and the interest. But, according to the conclusions arrived at by Sir Henry Fowler

in his Report on Local Taxation in 1893, after allowing for these loans, about half of the gross debt falls directly on the rates, which have not only to bear the interest, but also to provide for the repayment of the principal within the periods prescribed. Thus the rapid increase of debt soon materially added to the strength of the desire to claim relief from the Imperial Exchequer.

But a very high proportion of such debts was incurred by purely urban authorities, and therefore this of itself would not account for the growth of those appropriations which have been so strongly claimed on behalf of rural districts. The fact was that with the commencement of the last quarter of the nineteenth century began that economic revolution, as it may be called, a grand feature of which has been the decline in the value of the products of the soil, and therefore of landed property itself. In the year 1873, for instance, the fall in the price of wheat began, its average in that year being nearly 59s. a quarter; since which point it has declined to its lowest yearly average of something over 22s. a quarter in 1891. It was now that the full effects of the Free-trade measures of 1846 began to display themselves with the opening up of the wheat-growing areas of Argentina, Russia, India, and the United States. Sir Robert Peel himself had admitted the need of compensation to the land in such circumstances; the circumstances had arisen, and the claims were made good in the shape of imperial subventions to local funds. A third cause of the financial change we are considering has been the reorganisation of our local government system upon a popular, and therefore, perhaps necessarily, upon an expensive, basis. The motive for the large appropriations of 1888 was mainly that the newly constituted bodies should be given, so to speak, a good start in life. Perhaps the last cause which needs enumeration was a desire to remedy that feature of local taxation which confines the assessment of persons to land and the structures thereon, and thus allows personal property to escape scot free. With the desire to remedy this hole in the net of local taxation Parliament handed over one-half of the probate duty to local authorities, as being the tax which fell exclusively on realised personalty.

Having referred to the nature of this change and to its causes, let us endeavour to analyse its results and pass some judgement as to the prudence or otherwise of its authors. It may be said that prior to 1874, for every 12% raised

by local authorities, both by rates and by tolls and dues, the Imperial Exchequer contributed 1*l.* But at present for every 12*l.* thus raised by local authorities the Imperial Exchequer contributes 3*l.* This is certainly an immense difference, and it might very reasonably be concluded that rates have fallen in consequence. On the contrary, in spite of these subventions the average general rate of the United Kingdom has risen during the same period from about 3*s.* 2*d.* to about 3*s.* 10*d.* in the pound. It does not necessarily follow, of course, that because rates have risen notwithstanding, therefore these grants have been thrown away. For to such an inference it may be replied that if it had not been for these grants rates might have risen very much higher than they have done. But we think it certainly safe to conclude that this system must have vastly accelerated a multitude of local undertakings which would only have progressed slowly but for such assistance, and also that the local authorities cannot have been so careful in the expenditure of this money as they would have been if it had been raised by themselves and from their own locality.

And here we touch the vital and thorny question—From whose pockets have all these imperial subventions come? To decide this is to get at the root of the whole matter. Our approval or disapproval of this system turns upon how we decide whether it has been right to take this money from the pockets of those who pay taxes in order to hand it to those who pay rates. It might be argued, and the argument deserves consideration, that the imperial revenue is jointly supplied by labour and capital, and that any grants from that fund are borne by labour and capital in the proportions to which they contribute to the fund itself. Now rates are levied upon property, such as land and houses, and thus, according to the argument under consideration, imperial subventions are in reality nothing else than moneys partly levied, and so far unfairly levied, on the labouring classes for the relief of the possessors of property. To enter a little more into detail, the total revenue now receivable into the Exchequer as the product of taxation may be taken to be about 90,000,000*l.* Of this total customs and excise produce about 51,000,000*l.*, and these may be considered as taxes not incidental to property. The remainder of 39,000,000*l.* is raised by the income-tax, death duties, stamps, land-tax, and house duty, and these taxes are in the main incidental to property. An alteration falls to be made in the above figures. About 4,000,000*l.*, included in

the yield of income-tax, is derived from professional success, and should more correctly be charged as taxes not incidental to property. This would alter the above figures to 55,000,000*l.* and 35,000,000*l.* respectively. Hence the argument under consideration runs that, as the major portion of the imperial revenue is paid rather by the non-propertied than by the propertied classes, it is unfair to make grants from such a fund for the relief of rates, or, in other words, for the relief of property.

With the argument thus stated we do not agree, and for the following reasons. The proportion just arrived at is fallacious. Customs and excise fall upon the propertied as well as upon the non-propertied classes, and the former must consume a vast quantity of tobacco, wine, beer, and spirits, and thus must contribute a large sum to these taxes. But, more than this, in considering the burdens between classes we must take into account not only imperial, but local, taxation. After making due allowance for the fact that the tolls and dues levied by local authorities, and also a portion of the imperial subventions received by them, are to be classed as taxes not incidental to property, it may be concluded that, as rates are incidental to property, perhaps 70 per cent. or more of local taxation is incidental to property. These two considerations, as we believe, entirely redress, or rather reverse, the balance; so that there is no warrant for arguing that there is any injustice in the present balance of imperial and local burdens as distributed between the propertied and non-propertied classes, or for maintaining that these subventions necessarily constitute an act of injustice, though it is true again that equity of taxation is scarcely to be arrived at by any such balancing of figures.

But, of course, to show that the total burden of taxation, imperial and local, is fairly divided is not to show that any grants from that total fund should be made to property. To deal with this point let us inquire what has been the course of taxation during the last quarter of a century—during the period, in fact, when this system of subventions has grown up? How have these appropriations been actually defrayed? In order to furnish a reply let us compare the present state of things with what existed in 1875. In that year the income-tax was only 2*d.* in the pound; this year it is 8*d.* in the pound. Then it yielded about 4,300,000*l.*; now it yields, as estimated for the current financial year, 18,300,000*l.* Take, again, the stamp duties and the death

duties, both, like the income-tax, in the main incidental to property. In 1875 those taxes yielded 9,800,000*l.*; now they are estimated to yield to the Imperial Exchequer 19,200,000*l.*, or nearly double the old amount. Here, then, is a total growth of revenue of 23,000,000*l.*, derived from taxes incidental to property. On the other hand, customs and excise have increased only by 3,000,000*l.* between the two dates. Hence it may be said that whereas the total revenue derived from taxes was 64,000,000*l.* a quarter of a century ago and is now 90,000,000*l.*, no less than 23,000,000*l.* of that total growth of 26,000,000*l.* has been supplied by the imposition of fresh taxation upon property. Thus, though no doubt subventions from imperial revenues come from a fund jointly supplied by capital and labour, still, as a matter of practical reality, the money for the subventions in question during the last quarter of a century has been mainly procured by taxing property through the medium of the income-tax and death duties. Property has paid in the main for these grants to property.

Yet this does not exhaust the question. We have traced the causes and the results, and have discussed the abstract justice of these subventions. But we cannot think that they are a satisfactory growth in our financial system. It is impossible to contend that this movement has been guided by some far-sighted or clear-sighted view of the relations of local to imperial finance. That subject is a chaos, and a Royal Commission has only recently been appointed to explore the gulf into which so many millions have been already poured. Was it not extravagance in 1890 to allocate additional beer and spirit duties to local authorities for the purposes of 'technical education'? When one-half of the probate duty was handed over to the local authorities of the United Kingdom in 1888, the Scotch and Irish portion was allocated to specific purposes; in England and Wales its destined object was unspecified. In the same year, because Scotland gained by the transference of the licenses something equivalent had to be done for Ireland, and accordingly an equivalent grant was appropriated to her. In fact, the more closely we examine these tangled appropriations the more rife do they seem with disorder, and therefore with waste. The local authorities have pressed for money, and they have been given it abundantly. The ratepayer gains while the payer of income-tax is rated at 8*d.* in the pound.

The third great financial problem, also in the sphere of ex-

penditure, which has commanded the attention of our statesmen has been the application of public money to the reduction of the National Debt. Here too the century falls naturally into three main epochs. At first our public men were so anxious to reduce the enormous burden imposed upon the country by those who had saved Britain and saved Europe from Napoleon that they committed the error of borrowing money to cancel debt at a higher rate than that paid upon the debt thus extinguished. It was Lord Grenville who, in 1827, thoroughly exposed this proceeding; he was endorsed by the House of Commons' Committee which reported in the following year, and by consequence in 1829 the so-called old Sinking Fund was created. The operation of this fund for the extinction of debt rested upon the principle that it was only a surplus of revenue over expenditure which could properly be applied to such a purpose. The Act establishing the fund accordingly provided that the quarterly surplus, if any, in the Treasury was to be handed over to the National Debt Commissioners, who should therewith buy up and cancel Consols. But obviously this was a somewhat feeble expedient to stand by itself, for the surpluses in the exchequer were necessarily very casual, diminishing in the presence of any supplementary estimate and disappearing before a deficit. Another method was therefore to be brought to bear. It was that of converting permanent into terminable annuities, so that instead of paying only interest on a given portion of our debt we should arrange to pay annually interest plus a portion of the capital, and so in a given number of years redeem the whole of that portion of the debt in respect of which such terminable annuities had been established. It was by this method mainly that during the middle age of the century, at any rate, the reduction of the debt was carried forward. But even against this plan two objections might be urged. It was an age of remissions of taxation, and consequently when a terminable annuity fell in, as for instance the long annuities in 1860, there would be a very strong temptation upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the day to remit taxation to the extent of the revenue thus suddenly released from the service of the annuity now terminated. If, however, he resisted that temptation, he might not find enough stock upon the market to enable him to set up a similar amount of fresh annuities. For the public did not care as a rule to exchange Consols for such annuities, since an investment in Consols was usually made not for profit so much as to secure a permanence

which, of course, would not be afforded by a terminable annuity. No doubt stock in the hands of Government departments could be so converted, and was indeed much resorted to for this purpose. But even this process could for similar reasons be carried too far, and was in those days, at any rate, not very greatly extended. For instance, whereas at the close of the great war we were paying away in annuities an annual charge of nearly two millions, that amount in 1860, when the long annuities already mentioned had fallen in and had not been renewed, had only slightly increased.

In these circumstances the reduction of the debt was not remarkable for its extent or its rapidity. But in 1866 Mr. Gladstone turned his oratory upon this theme, and roused public opinion with his incomparable financial eloquence. Was it a bad conscience that was uttering its reproaches? For was it not he himself who had yielded to the temptation of not renewing the long annuities in 1860? Was it not he who in recent years had been responsible for enormous remissions of taxation, which sum might have been applied to the reduction of the National Debt? True, Sir Robert Peel had done the same. But then Sir Robert's Government had in 1844 carried the greatest conversion scheme known up to that date, and had secured the reduction of the rate of interest paid by the State upon nearly 250,000,000*l.* Consols from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent.; while Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, had failed in 1853 in a similar attempt. However this may be, Mr. Gladstone showed that from 1815 to 1866 the total sum applied to the reduction of the National Debt had been 180,000,000*l.* But then the debt had been increased during the same period by about 80,000,000*l.*, owing to such causes as the Crimean War, and the Irish famine, and the compensation to slave owners. Thus the net decrease of the debt had been 100,000,000*l.* In other words, the total debt, which was 900,000,000*l.* at the beginning of 1816, was 800,000,000*l.* in 1866. Thus the debt had been reduced at the rate of about two millions a year. In the five succeeding years up to 1874, the last year of the middle epoch which we are considering, the debt fell at an accelerated pace, standing at 780,000,000*l.* at that date.

Let us pause at this stage to make the inquiry whether the reduction in the amount of the debt during this middle age of the century had been satisfactory or otherwise. In the opinion of the most enlightened authorities it was

~~Source: *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 1899, Vol. 62, Part 1, p. 15.~~

reckoned to be inadequate, or even paltry. Reference has already been made to the opinion of Mr. Gladstone, but Sir Stafford Northcote, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1875, used similar language. Though characteristically declaring that he was not an enthusiast, he announced that 'we are far from doing all that we might do.' The leading financial writers of Great Britain and France concurred. Sir Robert Giffen wrote that 'we are as a nation somewhat 'basely skulking our obligations.' M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, who may be termed the John Stuart Mill of Europe, writing at that period, remarked that 'we have studied the 'English debt under all its aspects. While fully recognising the eminent merits of English financiers, we must 'admit that they have made no adequate effort to entirely 'extinguish their debt, which should have been easy for 'them with a little resolution during that long period of 'peace which has lasted scarcely without interruption since '1815.' Let us not presume to argue with such a phalanx of supreme authorities, but record their verdict and pass on to the closing epoch of the century.

The first year of the period in question, 1875, was marked by the establishment of the new Sinking Fund by Sir Stafford Northcote. In the future there was to be a 'permanent annual charge' upon public funds of 28,000,000*l.* for the service of the National Debt. This sum was calculated to comprise the annual payment of the interest on the funded and unfunded debt, the charge of any terminable annuities, and the expenses of managing the debt. Nor was this all. The difference between these combined charges and 28,000,000*l.* constituted the new Sinking Fund, and was applicable annually to the cancellation of the capital of the debt. 'In thirty years from this 'time,' said the Chancellor, 'you will have cancelled no 'less than 213,000,000*l.* of debt.' How far is that bold prophecy of a cautious man likely to be verified? Our National Debt at the close of the nineteenth century will amount to about 620,000,000*l.* It might, therefore, appear that during the twenty-five years following Sir Stafford Northcote's statement the debt will have been reduced by 160,000,000*l.* As a matter of fact the true figure is 133,000,000*l.*, seeing that 27,000,000*l.* of that reduction is nominal, and due to the National Debt and Local Loans Act of 1887. Hence during the last twenty-five years we have reduced the debt at the rate of about 5,300,000*l.* a year.

Is this a particularly brilliant performance? Certain

considerations point in a contrary direction. The two main political factors which should induce a nation to pay off its debt as fast as possible are the fear that war may break out at any moment, thus entailing a sudden addition to the debt, and also the fear that the peaceful rivalry of other nations may in the future press hard upon the profits of our people. Both these anticipations have been dominant throughout this period, for we have been preparing busily and seriously for war, and there has been the astounding growth of our commercial rivals, such as America and Germany. Hence we should have hastened to cut down our debt as fast as possible in this the heyday of our good fortune. It is true, indeed, that it was in the years immediately preceding 1875 that our prosperity was so sensational; that thenceforward till 1886 there was a certain stagnation; that the prosperity of the next four years culminated in 1890, and then declined till 1894. But 1895 was a great year, and the tide has run very strong since then. Hence, on the whole, we have had an epoch in which our capacity to reduce our debt must have greatly increased, as witness the fact that the gross amount of the value of property and profits assessed to income-tax was 490,000,000*l.* on the average for the five years 1870-74, and is now probably 710,000,000*l.*

These general considerations are enforced by a closer inspection of details. Thanks to the great conversion scheme of Mr. Goschen, whereby an annual reduction of nearly a million and a half was made in the interest charge of the debt, and thanks also to the reduction of the capital by the combined action of the old and new Sinking Funds and terminable annuities, the charge for interest and management, which was nearly 23,000,000*l.* in 1875, will fall to 17,000,000*l.* at the end of the century. If the nation is thus, as pointed out in the preceding paragraph, so much richer, and also the interest charge is so much lighter than before, is not the capacity of the nation for reducing the capital of the debt materially increased? Instead, however, of maintaining the arrangements of the Conservative Government of 1875, whereby 28,000,000*l.* was annually appropriated, we have cut that figure down to 26,000,000*l.* in 1888, thence to 25,000,000*l.* in 1890, and thence again to 23,000,000*l.* this year. The reasons for this latter reduction given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer were that the new Sinking Fund was growing so rapidly that soon 'there would be a temptation that no Parliament could

'possibly resist' to take a large portion of it for other purposes. Therefore he took a portion of it himself. The other reason was that Consols were at a high premium, and that this crippled the action of the Sinking Fund.

This fact of the high price of Consols requires some comment, as it has recently attracted so much attention. During the first eighty years of this century there were only four years, namely, 1844, 1845, 1852, and 1853, in which Consols touched par. Hence during almost the whole of the middle age of the century the managers of the Sinking Fund had the advantage of buying up Consols below par. From 1880 to 1888 the annual average price fluctuated above and below par. Then for the six years, 1888 to 1894, Consols were continuously below par. For the remaining five years they have stood as continuously above par, and rose to an average of over 112 in 1897. That this premium hampers the action of the Sinking Fund is of course clear. But responsibility for this state of affairs rests with the authors of the National Debt Act of 1888, which prevents the redemption of Consols at par until the arrival of the year 1923. Thus the present state of affairs is owing to the action of a few years ago, taken with the motive of facilitating the conversion of the National Debt, though, on the other hand, it may be answered that had it not been for this arrangement the conversion scheme in question would not have met with such success.

Another principle secured to us by the earlier statesmen of the century has been the financial unity of the United Kingdom. Though that principle has been maintained in our own day, its practical application has been so strenuously called into question in recent years that we may be permitted to indicate shortly our view of an issue still living and likely to live. By the Act of Union in 1800 Ireland and Great Britain, while each remained responsible for its own debt, were to pay, the former two-seventeenths and the latter fifteen-seventeenths of the common expenditure of Great Britain. Was this too heavy a burden for Ireland? Such an inquiry need not delay us, because, instead of paying during that period in the relation of 2 to 15 as provided, she actually did pay only in the relation of 2 to 24. She raised the balance by debt, which on the amalgamation of the Exchequers became a common burden on the taxpayers of the United Kingdom. In 1817 the Exchequers were amalgamated, and as the revenue of Ireland was at that date only about half what it ought to

have been under the terms of the Act of Union, the liabilities of that country were about halved at a single blow. This was, surely, no ungenerous treatment.

Let us jump the intervening years and observe the relative position of the two countries in 1850. At that date the revenue contributed by Great Britain was practically the same as in the period of amalgamation, while that contributed by Ireland had declined. The cause of the stationary amount provided by Great Britain was that much taxation had been remitted in the interval by Sir Robert Peel; the cause of the decline on the part of Ireland was, no doubt, in part due to the famine of 1848. But, at any rate, Ireland could scarcely complain, seeing that her contribution was both relatively and absolutely less than her originally low contribution. But if we proceed from 1850 to 1860 the case for Ireland comes into view. For during that decade Mr. Gladstone, abandoning the policy of Sir Robert Peel, extended the income-tax to Ireland, which the latter statesman had refrained from doing when he imposed it in 1842 upon Great Britain. But Mr. Gladstone went further in prejudice of Ireland. He raised the Irish spirit duties from 2s. 8d. to 4s. per gallon, and this example was so readily followed by succeeding chancellors that those duties had risen to no less than 10s. in 1860. All this proved a serious burden to the Ireland of those days, then terribly depopulated and shaken by famine, and her contribution rose by nearly 60 per cent. in that one decade. Stated relatively to Great Britain, her contribution, instead of being in the ratio of 2 to 24, was now in the ratio of 2 to 16, and this, too, in the days when the wealth of Great Britain was advancing by leaps and bounds! Surely this was a singularly ill-advised action upon the part of Britain.

Finally, our examination must take us from 1860 to the period in which we live, and at the present time it may be said that the relative contribution of Ireland and Great Britain is as 2 to 24, or the old proportion of the first quarter of the century. It might be thought that all this did not constitute much of a basis for a reconstruction of financial relations, but the whole aspect of the argument becomes altered when the advocates of Ireland assert that her 'taxable capacity,' whatever that mysterious phrase means, is as 2 to 40 in relation to Great Britain, and that Ireland being overtaxed on this hypothesis, a large annual sum should be refunded to her. But, unfortunately, the advocates of Ireland omit a most vital circumstance. If,

as they suggest, the contribution of Ireland is to be reduced as suggested to about four and a half millions, then, as the Imperial Exchequer has annually contributed a sum of about 6,000,000*l.* to purely Irish purposes, Ireland, on this view of the case, instead of 'contributing' anything, will actually be in receipt of an annual subsidy of a million and a half. There is really no answer to this argument, which is to the effect that, if Ireland is to be considered a separate unit, then in the name of justice and reason we must balance what we give to her against what she gives to us. This is in accordance also with the Act of Union. The seventh article of that Act provided that for a certain length of time the expenditure of the United Kingdom, with the exception of debt charges, should be borne by the two countries in certain fixed proportions. But it further provided that ultimately—and this is what has happened—the debts of the two countries should be amalgamated and the system of payment by fixed proportions should cease, and thenceforward the expenditure of the United Kingdom should be defrayed 'indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the 'same articles in each country, subject only to such 'particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and in 'that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances 'may appear from time to time to demand.' What are these 'circumstances'? Surely first and foremost among them must be the circumstances of Irish progress or decline in wealth, and also all that substantially affects the financial position under the Union, her burdens as well as her benefits, and her benefits as well as her burdens. As regards the first category, there is a mass of evidence that Ireland is not growing poorer, but slowly and steadily richer. As regards her benefits under the Act of Union, among them must surely be reckoned the amount of Imperial revenue annually devoted to her. In fact, those who look at what Ireland pays, and not at what she receives, are violating that very Act of Union in the name of which they protest. That Ireland is poor is true; that she should be treated with consideration is true; that she is so treated, and that she has no financial grievance, is true also.

Another legacy bequeathed to us by the statesmen of the middle age of this century was simplicity in the raising of revenue. At the close of the first quarter of the current century our customs tariff was regulated or concealed by a perfect forest of statutes; but in 1825 there was passed the great Codification Act, which repealed over 1,100 of such

enactments, the accumulated legislation of more than five hundred years. But, of course, an immense amount of work remained to be done, and when Sir Robert Peel came to office in 1841 our customs tariff was still vast and chaotic. Suffice it to say that between that date and 1860 his labours and those of Mr. Gladstone almost completely cleared the ground, so that the legislation of the latter year carried the process of the simplification of the tariff almost to the most extreme limits. Since that year little has remained to accomplish, except that the corn duty and wood duty were finally repealed, and an epoch in this respect may be said to have concluded with the abolition of the sugar duties in 1874. Practically, at the present time four articles, namely, foreign spirits, tobacco, tea, and wine, provide the customs revenue.

It is a remarkable feature in our financial history during the last quarter of the century that we have adhered to the policy thus laid down. During the Napoleonic struggle the customs revenue was about trebled, and about 600 statutes were enacted. Yet during the period of enormous expenditure through which we have been passing in preparation for war the work of Peel and Gladstone has stood untouched. To take an example of the most recent occurrence. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer has, it is true, dealt with the customs duties in both of his most recent budgets. Last year there was a diminution of the duty on tobacco, and this year there was an addition to the duties on wine, but both these articles are already on the established list. No doubt adherence to this policy has evoked many criticisms. Mr. Goschen has contended that we have unduly narrowed the range of a chancellor of the exchequer seeking for revenue; but the answer to such a criticism is that in spite of all chancellors of the exchequer have found their revenue, and that a large customs revenue can always be raised in case of a real crisis. Another critic, the 'Times,' has recently published a series of articles urging the reimposition of the duty on corn repealed in 1869, and also of a portion of the duty on sugar. Quite apart from the consideration that this would constitute an abandonment of the principle of Free-trade, and would probably end in a political disaster, it is clear that to abstain from such sources of possible taxation is to maintain a reserve against an hour of storm and stress.

We have thus endeavoured to pronounce as clearly and as concisely as possible upon the fabric of British finance

erected during the nineteenth century with such infinite labour and skill. Many important details have not been touched upon, but the chief outlines have been passed in survey. It remains to state our general conclusions upon the subject in a series of propositions which will in some measure repeat, in some measure amplify, and in some measure summarise, but will in no way contradict, the particular conclusions arrived at in the preceding pages as point by point has been enunciated.

1. The history of the public finance of Great Britain during the nineteenth century falls by a natural classification into three epochs, the first of which runs from 1800 to about the year 1825. That period, from a purely financial point of view, was as disastrous as it was glorious otherwise. Two important achievements, indeed, must be credited to its account. These were the resumption of cash payments, which became really operative in 1821, and the consequent abandonment of an inconvertible paper currency. There was also the amalgamation of the British and Irish exchequers in the year 1817. But otherwise those years were the creator and parent of almost all the problems submitted to the solution of the succeeding half-century of time. We had entered the great war with an annual debt charge of something over 9,000,000*l.*; we emerged with an annual debt charge of 32,000,000*l.* We had entered it with a capital debt of 270,000,000*l.*; we emerged with a capital debt of 900,000,000*l.* But the business of that age was not only to borrow to the utmost, but also to tax to the utmost, and by consequence, while a heavy income-tax was laid upon property, imposts of every sort and variety were levied upon the productive powers of the people. In 1816 Parliament abolished the odious income-tax with enthusiasm, thus forfeiting 14,000,000*l.* of revenue; but it maintained, and in 1819 largely added to, the multitudinous burdens upon consumption. A third evil legacy for the succeeding age was the Sinking Fund, under which money for the purpose of cancelling debt was borrowed at a higher rate than that paid upon the debt thus extinguished.

2. Then the resurrection came. The Tory party shook itself free of its slough of Eldons and Sidmouths and Vansittarts, and with Robert Peel and Canning and Huskisson the age of modern England began. 1825 marked an epoch which did not terminate until 1875. That earlier year is made memorable by the abolition of the customs barrier between Great Britain and Ireland, and also by the codifica-

tion of the customs, which repealed over 1,100 old enactments. Simultaneously economy in expenditure was inaugurated, the vicious principle of the Sinking Fund abolished, and the tariff amended in the direction of Free-trade.

3. Yet this good prospect did not last for long. Huskisson and Canning died, and Peel in 1830 was sent into opposition, with one brief exception, for eleven years. So our finance declined from bad to worse, for the Whigs, excluded so long from office, had enjoyed no training in finance. Althorp and Spring Rice and Baring proved unequal to the management of the exchequer, and deficits came round as annually as the spring. Then, at last, the Conservatives returned to office, and the date of March 11, 1842, on which the new prime minister opened his budget, should be marked as the commencement of the marvellous prosperity and progress of the Victorian age.

4. The generation which followed was that of Peel and Gladstone. The first was a Tory who became Conservative, and the second a Conservative who became a Liberal. Though prime ministers of opposing parties in the State, they were as master and scholar, or as father and son. So finance was taken from the strife of parties and a steady and consistent national policy was pursued.

5. Of the principles that marked this middle age of the century the foremost was economy in expenditure. Between the year 1825 and the year 1853 the expenditure of the country stood still. The reasons of that strange stagnation were that Europe was weary of war and averse to armaments; while in Britain the debt charge was so heavy and the remissions of taxation necessitated by the policy of Free-trade so considerable, that a large expenditure was impracticable on other objects. But as the period advanced a change became strongly marked. After the death of Sir Robert Peel in 1850 the ascendancy of Palmerston was soon established, and Palmerston stood for a more liberal outlay on national defence. Besides, in 1854 the Crimean War broke out, soon to be followed by the Indian Mutiny; while the intrigues of Napoleon in France, thwarted by 'the man of blood and iron' in Germany, were turning Europe into an armed camp. Gradually also as the nation grew richer, as the burden of the debt declined, and as the revenue expanded, expenditure became more possible and was more allowed. Yet economy remained personified in the person of Mr. Gladstone, who constantly threw his vast financial influence into a war against ex-

penditure; and thus in 1870 the chancellor of the exchequer was still able to find in economy the secret and the source of the prosperity of the public finance.

6. The remaining quarter of the century has witnessed an enormous change. The outlay on the army in that period has increased by 6 millions, on civil services by 9 millions, and on the navy by 17 millions, making a total growth of 32,000,000*l.* Such has been the expense of providing modern armaments and also of state-aided education. Both parties in the State have shared in the responsibility for this outlay, and Lord Northbrook and Lord Spencer have induced Parliament to accept huge programmes of naval expenditure no less than Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Goschen. Another proof of the necessity of this outlay is the extreme and genuine reluctance with which the nation entered upon it; for instance, our navy was still quite inadequate so late as the year 1888, and even the vast efforts of recent years have only sufficed to make it equal, or nearly so, to the combined navies of France and Russia. Such in the main have been the reasons for the increase in expenditure upon our army, navy, and civil services from a combined total of 38,000,000*l.* in 1875 to the huge total of 70,000,000*l.* for the year ending in 1900.

7. A second principle adhered to by the financiers of this middle age, from 1825 to 1875, was unity in expenditure—that is say, its concentration upon the military and civil services and the discharge of debt. This principle has been abandoned, and large annual appropriations are now made to local bodies for the relief of rates. Is this right, that those who pay taxes should be so heavily mulcted for the benefit of those who pay rates? It is an arguable and complicated question, so far as abstract justice is concerned. The imperial revenue is a fund levied upon property and poverty, and thus, it may be said, appropriations from that fund are a gift, partly borne by poverty, for the relief of rates—that is, for the relief of property. To this general consideration a practical answer may be made. Since 1875 the vast growth of expenditure has been met by increased imposts upon property, as, for example, by the income-tax, which has been raised from 2*d.* to 8*d.* in the pound, and also by the death duties. Thus taxes incidental to property have provided 23,000,000*l.* extra of revenue, while customs and excise, taxes not incidental to property, have only provided an increased yield of 3,000,000*l.* In a word, property has mainly paid for these subventions to property from the Imperial Exchequer.

8. But if these subventions have not infringed justice, they still may be unsound finance. Unsound they are. They are based on no reasoned and far-reaching view of the relations of local and imperial finance, and thus the income-tax stands at 8*d.* at the same time that the rates, in spite of such alleviation, are higher than ever before. This action of the last quarter of the nineteenth constitutes the main financial problem prepared for the solution of the twentieth century.

9. The third great question common to both periods was the expenditure applicable to the reduction of the National Debt. On the whole, and according to the combined testimony of Mr. Gladstone, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Robert Giffen, and M. Leroy-Beaulieu, the middle age of the century was remiss in the reduction of this obligation. The capital of the debt was about 900,000,000*l.* at the close of the great war, and was 780,000,000*l.* in 1874, or a net reduction of 120,000,000*l.* during that period. At the close of the current century the capital of the debt will have been reduced by a further sum of 133,000,000*l.*, excluding from that calculation a nominal alteration in the figures of the capital of the debt. Yet our conduct during the last quarter of a century has been anything but heroic, excepting always Mr. Goschen's great conversion scheme, so magnificently accomplished. The period has witnessed the gradual reduction of the annual amount of 28,000,000*l.* fixed by Sir Stafford Northcote for the service of the debt to 23,000,000*l.*

10. The fourth principle of the middle epoch was unity in taxation, as exemplified in the case of Ireland. Our examination leads us to deny that Ireland has been unfairly treated, except somewhat harshly by Mr. Gladstone in the earlier portion of his career.

11. The fifth great principle of the middle epoch was simplicity of taxation. In the closing age that principle has been very wisely maintained, in face of the most enormous necessary expenditure, and this adherence to Free-trade constitutes the most creditable chapter of modern public finance.

- ART. II.—1. *The Autobiography and Letters of Mrs. M. O. W. Oliphant.* Arranged and edited by Mrs. HARRY COGHILL. Edinburgh: 1899.
2. *Passages in the Life of Mrs. Margaret Maitland.* By Mrs. OLIPHANT. London: 1849.
3. *Salem Chapel and The Doctor's Family.* By the same Author. Edinburgh: 1863. (Reprinted together.)
4. *Miss Marjoribanks.* By the same Author. Edinburgh: 1866.
5. *Phæbe Junior: a Last Chronicle of Carlingford.* By the same Author. London: 1876.
6. *A Beleaguered City.* By the same Author. London: 1880.
7. *A Little Pilgrim in the Unseen.* By the same Author. London: 1882.
8. *The Wizard's Son.* By the same Author. London: 1884.
9. *Two Stories of the Seen and Unseen.* By the same Author. Edinburgh: 1885.
10. *The Land of Darkness, along with some Further Chapters in the Experience of the Little Pilgrims.* London: 1888.
11. *Fancies of a Believer.* 'Blackwood's Magazine,' February 1895.
12. *The Land of Suspense.* 'Blackwood's Magazine,' January 1897.

MRS. OLIPHANT died a few days after the Queen's second jubilee. Her first novel, 'Margaret Maitland,' was published in 1849. Her life's work covered a period of fifty years, and in that space of time she gave to the world upwards of two hundred and fifty volumes. Her miscellaneous contributions to 'Blackwood's Magazine' and other periodicals not reprinted might probably fill another fifty. From the time she was twenty to her death in her seventieth year she wrote on an average at least six volumes a year—one every two months. A journalist in full work turns out printed matter at about the same rate, but few maintain the flow of it over so long a period, and Mrs. Oliphant's work never fell below the level of the very best journalism. It is no figure of speech to say that she wrote her fingers to the bone. 'I have worked a hole in my right forefinger,'

she wrote to Mr. Blackwood in October 1896, 'with the pen, I suppose! and can't get it to heal—also from excessive use of that little implement.' That seems to have been the first thing that interfered with her amazing flow of production; the frame wore out before the mind, though that too had lost something of its freshness. Yet those who read the great book that she was engaged on when she wrote this word of half-humorous complaint, the *Annals* of the publishing house of Blackwood which she had so long and so loyally served, found little sign of decay in her masterly handling of all that complicated material. Few writers have had at their disposal a more serviceable brain; none ever used it more unsparingly. Yet the end of all this work and of all this ability was failure. Failure is written large on the fragmentary Autobiography now published, which, broken though it is, is a most interesting and significant document.

The saddest part of her failure is that it was only relative and partial. She accomplished a great deal, she achieved a large measure of success, she knew much happiness, but she had always the feeling that she might have done more, that her success was not equal to her merit and her labour, and that her happiness was never durable. Everything seemed to come easy to her by nature, and circumstances made everything hard; no one was ever more happy by nature, by fate more unhappy. She wrote easily and sweetly, and her first published novel succeeded far beyond her hopes; yet the absolute success that puts a seal on a career always just eluded her, and she was never free to make the effort that might—or so she thought—have won it. So far as fame was concerned, she lived a life of Tantalus, till all care for that reward had died out of her; and the desire never was masterful. When at last, as we hold, she did the best that was in her to do, she was past caring, if indeed she knew that she had done it. For the other success which can be counted in money, that too came freely to her at the outset, and she was prosperous; yet others with half her talent and less than half her labour earned twice as much, for work not so good as hers. Still she earned what was sufficient for her and for those whom she loved and supported, but that, too, came to bitterness. Her husband was a failure in life; she was able to maintain the household, but he died on her hands. Left a widow, she reared her children with every comfort and advantage, taking all the hardship of the home upon herself. A second family was thrown on her hands

when her brother, having failed in business, came to live, a mere wreck of a man, under her roof. She stinted nothing, but worked double tides that these children also might lack nothing in life, putting aside her personal ambition to be ambitious for others. Her own sons failed to profit by the start she had given them ; then when a hope of seeing them enter resolutely upon life dawned in her mind, they too died, as her nephew, who was like a son to her, had died before them. One by one the young lives about her went out. She herself had health that nothing could shake, the health that is in itself the joy of living, a sweetness of breath and blood ; but it was given to her that she might be all through her life a pillar and prop to sickness. Death struck all about her, in her very arms, but it never touched her, till she was left absolutely alone. She had in herself that well-spring of happiness, the power to make happy faces about her, and to rejoice in the sight of them ; but with it went the poignant agony of apprehension which nothing can feel but the keenest love, and the longer she lived the more passionately she loved, and the more cause she had for that agony. She lived the life of Damocles, and the sword fell not once nor twice, and even the last blow, though it was mortal, did not kill mercifully. She lived nearly three years after the death of her last surviving child. Her life was the tragedy of happiness, and she has written it herself.

These pages of her Autobiography—even such of them as are merely reminiscences—show the woman as she was : a creature in whom extraordinary intensity of feeling was matched with a keen incisive intellect, curiously prone to analysis, stripping off all illusions and going to the very heart of things, finding bitterness enough, but never losing hope ; strong to act, strong to think, strong to endure, and strong to believe ; womanly in everything, keen with a woman's keenness, and strong with a woman's strength. Such a temper and faculties in one endowed with a rare gift of expression cannot but have left something that will last, and the best service that can be done to her memory is to disencumber the essential and vital parts in her achievement from that which has no permanent claim upon our interest. Probably no one living has read all or even nearly all that she wrote ; certainly we have no pretension to have done so. But public opinion is in some measure a guide, and a far better index is to be found in this record of her life. Work that means little to its author can never mean much to the world, and it is easy to see from the Auto-

biography, and from stray passages in the letters, when Mrs. Oliphant wrote because there was a thing in her that demanded to be uttered. One may dismiss at once all the history, biography, and the rest, as hackwork undertaken merely because there was money to be made. Work of this class may of course be literature of the highest kind, but not done as Mrs. Oliphant did it—not without a fuller knowledge and a deeper meditation than she ever took time for. Yet we would not for a moment allow that by doing this work she in anyway disqualified herself for doing better. All Goldsmith's drudgery—and he wrote, as he said himself pathetically, a volume a month—never harmed 'The Vicar of Wakefield;' rather, it went to give that ease of the much practised hand which is half the charm of his masterpiece. And knowledge is never amiss, and the variety of Mrs. Oliphant's enforced reading gave a richness to her mind. She did not know as much of the subjects she wrote on as it befits a specialist to know, but the width of her culture was hard to parallel, and papers like those called 'The Looker-On,' which she wrote for 'Blackwood's Magazine' in her last years, are delightful in their maturity, not only of judgement and experience, but of knowledge. As for her style, it certainly does not conform to the prevailing standards. It does not keep one on the stretch with continual expectation of the unexpected word: it is never contorted or tormented, never emphatic, never affected. The words flow simply and smoothly, like the utterance of a perfectly well-bred woman, talking sometimes eagerly, sometimes with a grave earnestness, but more often with a delicate under-current of laughter in the tone; and the style answers by a sort of instinct to each inflection of the voice. She is thinking more about what she has to say than about the way in which she is to say it; and since the day when people listened to Mr. Pater and misunderstood Stevenson that has been to a certain school of critics the unpardonable sin. Style comes to some by the grace of nature, and Mrs. Oliphant was one of the fortunate who had none of the vehemences and eccentricities of temperament which make it difficult for the writer to arrive at a harmonious manner of expression; nor was she obliged to hide mediocrity under a solemn and elaborate vesture of language. What she had to say was interesting, and she arrived spontaneously at a manner of saying it perfectly fitted to her purpose. As she developed, both the matter and the form mended, but there was only the change that comes between youth

and maturity. Nothing can be more absurd than to say that Mrs. Oliphant was indifferent to style because she did not inquire diligently what manner of style she should adopt. She knew instinctively the mode of expression suited to her talent, and she delighted to make the most of it. She had the artist's pleasure 'in 'small technical successes' that Stevenson writes of, and was, by her own avowal, 'ever more really satisfied by 'some little conscious felicity of words than by anything 'else.'

'I have always had my sing-song,' she says, 'guided by no sort of law but my ear, which was in its way fastidious to the cadence and measure that pleased me, but it is bewildering to me in my perfectly artless art, if I may use the word at all, to hear of the elaborate ways of forming and enhancing style and all the studies for that end.'

Goldsmith would probably have said the same, and though Mrs. Oliphant is not Goldsmith, she is far nearer to the best English than nine-tenths of the living writers whom it is the fashion to praise for excellence in style. She wrote sometimes worse, sometimes better, always with a certain looseness of texture in the sentence; but from her earliest beginnings to the latest of her work there was never a period in which one could not pick out from her writings passages of rare beauty and charm. 'Miss 'Marjoribanks,' perhaps the best written of all her novels, is a model of refined irony—the most difficult of all qualities to achieve—and the conscious pleasure of workmanship is apparent in the neatly turned sentences which round off each chapter cleanly, as if with the crack of a whip, while the laugh hides itself behind a studied decorum of phrase. Take an instance—Lucilla had conducted to a triumphant issue her great project for the social regeneration of Carlingford by means of 'Thursday evenings;' but her public success had been attended with private disappointments, and for a second time the homage of an eligible suitor had been transferred to one of the weaker sisters whom she had launched in life.

'Nothing could be more exciting than the position in which she found herself; but the difficulties were only such as stimulated her genius; and then it was not any selfish advantage, but the good of her neighbour in its most sublime manifestation—the good of her neighbour who had injured her and been insensible to her attractions, which according to the world in general is the one thing unpardonable to a woman—which Lucilla sought. And it was not even the Scriptural coals of fire she was thinking of, as she pondered her great

undertaking in her mind. The enterprise might not be free from a touch of human vanity, but it was vanity of a loftier description; the pleasure of exercising a great faculty and the natural confidence of genius in its own powers.'

The passage is thoroughly characteristic; somewhat faulty in structure—the long sentence indeed is unusually ill built—yet what could be more admirable than the tone? But for the best of Mrs. Oliphant's writing we should go to the evening of her life—to the period when according to the prevailing cant of criticism her whole faculty must have been blunted and worn down by her lifelong disregard of the minuter delicacies of language. We should quote by choice from the preface to almost the last volume published before her death, 'The Ways of Life,' in which she wrote concerning the melancholy ebb of human faculties, and the slow sad conviction borne in upon many that they have survived their highest point of reputation; or from any one of the stories dealing with the unseen world in which, as it will be our endeavour to show, her genius found its full and characteristic expression. The writings of this later period abound in passages of the truest pathos—sometimes wonderfully soft and moving, sometimes tragic in their restraint—always womanly and never effeminate; and in these there is a noble melody of language. The melody is simple and not greatly varied, yet there are few pieces of English writing more musical than the 'Little Pilgrim in the Unseen.'

It could not, however, by any means be asserted that Mrs. Oliphant will continue to hold a place in literature for the sake of her style. The versatility of her mind, the variety and extent of her work may secure her a place in the dictionaries, but will not keep her memory alive. If she survives at all it must be in some sort or other as a writer of fiction—as a maker of stories. And the stories which have a chance to live must be those in which she herself was most interested—into which, consciously or unconsciously, she put most of herself. Without the Autobiography one could guess readily enough: with it we ought to be able to know. It is a little difficult, however, because Mrs. Oliphant, as she says, never took herself or her work very seriously.

'I always avoid considering formally what my own mind is worth. I have never had any theory on the subject. I have written because it gave me pleasure, because it came natural to me, because it was like talking or breathing, besides the big fact that it was necessary for me to work for my children.'

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That passage illustrates at once the strength and the weakness of her gift. The vocation was perfectly natural; she wrote, not out of ambition, but simply from a pleasure in the occupation, to pass away long hours by her mother's bedside. Her family were sympathetic, and made an audience to whom she read out her early attempts; they were delighted at her success, but they never talked to her of genius, or encouraged her to spell art with a capital A. If she ever had leanings that way herself, she satirised them keenly but kindly in her sketch of Rose Lake, the pretty little drawing-master's daughter, who believes in the social position conferred by Art, and thinks that her design for the border of an embroidery is the most important thing in the world. Margaret Oliphant grew up a bookish and secluded child in a very shrewd family circle. Her mother, she says, was like Mrs. Carlyle, and Mrs. Carlyle would not have fostered illusions. Her gift was encouraged and applauded, 'but always with a hidden sense that it was an admirable 'joke.' She did her writing at a corner of the family table, joining in whatever talk was going just as if she 'had 'been making a shirt instead of writing a book.' Miss Austen, as Mrs. Oliphant herself observes, worked under the same conditions. Still, the very best work is not produced except by those in whom it takes up an enormously large space of life. Miss Austen may have written in a room full of people, but she must have spent innumerable hours in the company of her characters. Scott also was very tolerant of interruptions, but, as he said himself, if there was never five minutes in the day when he was thinking of nothing but his story, so there was also never five minutes when his story was out of his head. Mrs. Oliphant never lived in the life of her characters, as the greater novelists have done—as Trollope, for instance, describes himself to have done, and that is why Trollope, in many respects so inferior to her, is, nevertheless, a greater novelist. Mrs. Proudie and the rest were just as real to him as Becky Sharp and Amelia were to Thackeray. Mrs. Oliphant's characters were to her—it is her own illustration—no more than people in a book; no better known than Jeanie Deans, and, perhaps, not so well known. And the reason is not far to seek—certainly not obscure enough to escape so fine a critic as she was. There were always other things far more engrossing and far more important to occupy her mind. Womanlike, she lived her life chiefly in the interests of those about her, and those concerns were always of a nature to leave her no

breathing space 'to labour with an artist's fervour and 'concentration to produce a masterpiece.' Their home in Liverpool, where Mr. Wilson, her father, had some office in the Customs—with characteristic vagueness, she does not know precisely what office—was never a happy one. Before she was old enough to understand, her elder brother Willy 'had come by some defeat in life' and was at home idle. Then came reform, a new start, and he went up to London to study in the English Presbyterian College for a ministry in the Church to which the Oliphants belonged. His sister went with him, a small, fierce guardian. It was in those days that 'Margaret Maitland' was accepted by Colburn. The reformation continued, and the brother went to take a charge in some small village of Northumberland. There he relapsed and was brought home a mere wreck, incapable of anything but drifting through life, a log in the domestic circle at home. That was when the novelist first learnt her tenderness for ne'er-do-wells and wastrels. Shortly after this came her marriage with her first cousin, Frank Oliphant. Marriage brought with it happiness and cares. Mr. and Mrs. Wilson followed their daughter to London, and Mr. Oliphant did not get on with his mother-in-law. The first child born was a girl, and shortly after the birth of the second—only a year later—Mrs. Wilson sank into a fatal illness. Her daughter nursed her with a passionate devotion.

'At the very end I remember the struggle against overwhelming sleep, after nights and days in incessant anxiety, which made me so bitterly ashamed of the limits of wretched nature. To want to sleep while she was dying seemed so unnatural and so horrible. And, oh me! when all was over, mingled with my grief there was—how can I say it?—something like a dreadful relief.'

That, too, is very characteristic. To a woman with that bitter habit of analysis was denied even the comfort of illusions. But it gave her a force of insight not common among novelists; there is a strange reflection of this train of thought at the beginning of 'Miss Marjoribanks' which tells of the doctor's bereavement, and how he is almost glad to find himself truly sorry for the loss of the wife who had been so little to him. All that grief can teach, Mrs. Oliphant's indomitable spirit was fated to learn. A few months after her mother's death she lost her second child, a baby of eight months old, and mingled with her sorrow was a shame to know how much deeper this pang struck than the loss of her mother, 'who had been everything to

‘her all her life.’ A third child was born, and died a day old.

‘My spirit sank completely under it. I used to go about saying to myself “A little while and ye shall not see me,” with a longing to get to the end and have all safe—for my one remaining, my eldest, my Maggie, seemed as if she too must be taken out of my arms. People will say it was an animal instinct, perhaps. Neither of these little ones could speak to me or exchange an idea or show love, and yet their withdrawal was like the sun going out from the sky—life remained, the daylight continued, but all was different. It seems strange to me now at this long distance—but so it was.’

Yet gradually her elastic nature recovered itself; they began to go a little into artist society, orders came in to her husband, who was an artist, ‘and, best of all, our delightful ‘boy was born.’ That was in November 1856, four years and a half after their marriage. Within that period she had endured four births and three deaths. Yet she had written five novels and five-and-twenty articles for Blackwood. *I nunc et versus tecum meditare canoros.* With those agonies knocking at her heart, how was a woman to live the life of imagination? The actual had her by the throat. Yet happiness came back, and for a year or two she lived in the heartease of constant and congenial employment.

‘When I look back on my life, among the happy moments which I can recollect is one which is so curiously common and homely, with nothing in it, that it is strange even to record such a recollection, and yet it embodied more happiness to me than almost any real occasion, as might be supposed, for happiness. It was the moment after dinner when I used to run upstairs to see that all was well in the nursery, and then to turn into my room on my way down again to wash my hands, as I had a way of doing before I took up my evening work, which was generally needlework, something to make for the children. My bedroom had three windows in it, one looking out upon the gardens I have mentioned, the other two into the road. It was light enough with the lamplight outside for all I wanted. I can see it now, the glimmer of the outside lights, the room dark, the faint reflection in the glasses, and my heart full of joy and peace—for what?—for nothing—that there was no harm anywhere, the children well above stairs and their father below. I had few of the pleasures of society, no gaiety at all. I was eight-and-twenty, going downstairs as light as a feather, to the little frock I was making. My husband also gone back for an hour or two after dinner to his work, and well—and the bairnies well. I can feel now the sensation of that sweet calm and ease and peace.

‘I have always said it is in these unconsidered moments that happiness is—not in things or events that may be supposed to cause it. How clear it is over these more than thirty years!’

‘Then came the forerunner of fresh disaster: her husband

in coughing brought up blood. Consumption ran its course rapidly. He was ordered abroad, and the pair went to Italy in January 1859, friendless and all but destitute of money, ignorant of everything that might have smoothed matters down. His life lasted some few months yet, first in Florence, then in Rome, where he died in October, leaving his wife with two helpless children in life and one unborn. When the second boy, born six weeks after his father's death, was three months old, the family struggled home, having for all its fortune, Mrs. Oliphant writes, 'about '1,000*l.* of debt, a small insurance of, I think, 200*l.* on 'Frank's life, our furniture laid up in warehouse, and my 'own faculties, such as they were, to make our living and 'pay off our burdens by.'

Yet even under all this weight of affliction she never lost heart. But her work suffered. In 1860 she was in Scotland, and in that winter, living in Edinburgh with her children, went through one of her worst times. The Blackwoods had been rejecting contributions of hers. There is a letter, pathetic in its courage, given in this book about a returned manuscript; and she tells in her History of the firm with what trepidation she went to offer them a serial for the Magazine which was the very apple of their eye: how the two men received her kindly, but gave her little hope; and how she kept down her tears until she was fairly out of the office, and walked home through a bitter north-east wind to the little house where the little ones ran to the door 'all gay 'and sweet' to meet her 'wi' flichterin' noise and glee.' For the rest of the day she was occupied with them 'in a sort of 'cheerful despair,' but when the house was still that night she sat down and wrote a story, the first of the 'Carlingford' series, which made her 'almost one of the popularities of 'literature. She 'sat up nearly all night over it in a passion 'of composition.' Next day it was finished and sent up to George Street, and her fortune, 'comparatively speaking, 'was made.' In the winter of 1861 she settled down near Ealing, then a real village near London, in a tiny house on the Uxbridge Road. Here she stayed for four years, when the need of schooling for her boys made her move to Windsor; and here her best work as a novelist was done. 'Salem Chapel' was written in 1862, on the whole, perhaps, her best novel, if due weight be given to its excellence of plot and skilful developement of interest. 'The Perpetual 'Curate' followed it, and there is a new note perceptible in her correspondence with Blackwood; she is keenly inte-

rested in the future, determined to make, as she says, laughingly, 'an 'it,' and keenly gratified by the increasing success. The scar that was left by her husband's death had closed up; and she never pretends that her affection for him was the passion of her life. Passion of that kind there was none in her history; she owns in a curiously frank passage of her Autobiography to a sense of 'whimsical 'injury' because she had never in her life 'impressed any-body,' as George Eliot and George Sand did. It is an odd confession of that sort of envy which the virtuous so often appear to feel for famous sinners. But there was a passion in Mrs. Oliphant's life of which 'these two bigger women,' as she calls them, knew nothing. George Eliot was childless, and George Sand was a mother indeed, but one to whom her child was an interest scarcely competing with her art or her various loves. To Mrs. Oliphant her children were the universe; she lived in them and for them, and in their lives she built up a new happiness to which her own success was only contributory. Just in these years between 1861 and 1868 she had her chance to achieve greatness as a novelist if it lay in her. She was in the maturity of her powers—in 1867 she reached her fortieth birthday—she had no pressing call for money, her children were old enough to be a keen pleasure, not old enough to be an anxiety; her heart was light, and her strength unlimited. She wrote under the keen stimulus of a half-achieved popularity, and she had hit upon the manner best suited to her. People wondered at the knowledge displayed in 'Salem Chapel'—where old Tozer is a real creation. If the book be taken along with its sequel, 'Phœbe Junior,' it may be said that Mrs. Oliphant knew all about Tozer. Yet, masterly as 'Salem Chapel' is, it cannot be placed higher than in the second rank of fiction; not higher than Trollope's best work. Yet Mrs. Oliphant had gifts denied to Trollope; she had eloquence, charm of style, grace and ease where he is heavy and clumsy; above all, she had the power to construct a story full of high-strung situations, yet in no way sinning against common sense; and her insight into feminine character and skill to depict it at least rival his mastery over men. Why with all these advantages does she get no further? What is it that sets the dividing line between her and George Eliot, or Charlotte Brontë? What is the quality in which Trollope outdoes her so far as to counterbalance all his deficiencies? It is, we hold, what may be called force or sincerity: the result of the artist's passionate absorption in his work. Mrs.

Oliphant complains in her Autobiography that she spoiled her fortunes by making light to others of her own work. In reality she made light of it to herself. It did not mean much to her. Scott had something of the same turn in him, and the consequence is that Scott's work is not so great as it might have been. Read the passages in his journal written under the heaviest stroke of trouble, when he speaks as Shakspeare might have spoken, and you will realise how much greater is Scott than any of his novels. Read this Autobiography of Mrs. Oliphant's and you will feel the same. Yet there is all the difference in the world between the two temperaments. Scott was a man, and though he worked lightly and almost carelessly, yet his work was the central preoccupation of his life. A man cannot alter his nature, and the power of concentrating his whole energy for a long stretch was not in him; his work came as if by some unconscious process of nature. But the life of imagination was the strongest in him; that was his secret joy, the thing lying deepest in his heart. Mrs. Oliphant was a woman and a mother, and the innermost preoccupation of her mind—the point to which her fluctuating thoughts would always swing back—was her children. It may be an accident—but more likely it is not—that the women who have been great artists have been childless women. George Sand is the one exception, and she would leave her child while she strayed over Italy with de Musset. The others are Miss Austen, the Brontës, and George Eliot; one may add Mrs. Browning, all of whose best work was done before she became a mother. There are interests in life too strong for art to compete with, especially the art of the novelist, which needs that the artist should live in imaginary characters. The art of the poet is different, for it may incorporate with itself any emotion; and the genius of Mrs. Oliphant revealed itself as genius in work that is essentially poetry. But happiness seldom needs to find a voice—not until it is remembered happiness; and in the days when the first 'Carlingford' tales were being written Mrs. Oliphant was thoroughly happy. It was not for long. In the autumn of 1863 she, with her three children and her dear friends Principal Tulloch and his wife and children, went to Rome. They were a party full of gaiety and brightness. And then came back the pain that was 'the over-word of her life.' Her daughter, a child of eleven years, was taken ill, died in four days, and was laid beside her father. And the words

that she wrote down then in her misery are printed here :—

‘The hardest moment in my present sad life is the morning, when I must wake up, and begin the dreary world again. I can sleep during the night, and I sleep as long as I can; but when it is no longer possible, when the light can no longer be gainsaid, and life is going on everywhere, then I, too, rise up to bear my burden. How different it used to be! When I was a girl I remember the feeling I had when the fresh morning light came round. Whatever grief there had been the night before, the new day triumphed over it. Things must be better than one thought, must be well, in a world which woke up to that new light, to the sweet dew and sweet air which renewed one’s soul. Now I am thankful for the night and the darkness, and shudder to see the light of the day returning.

‘The Principal calls “In Memoriam” an embodiment of the spirit of this age, which he says does not know what to think, yet thinks and wonders and stops itself, and thinks again; which believes and does not believe, and *perhaps*, I think, carries the human yearning and longing further than it was ever carried before. Perhaps my own thoughts are much of the same kind. I try to realise heaven to myself, and cannot do it. The more I think of it, the less I am able to feel that those who have left us can start up at once into a heartless beatitude without caring for our sorrows. Do they sleep until the great day? Or does time so cease for them that it seems but a matter of hours and minutes till we meet again? God who is Love cannot give immortality and annihilate affection; that surely, at least, we must take for granted—as sure as they live, they live to love us. Human nature in the flesh cannot be more faithful, more tender, than the purified human soul in heaven. Where, then, are they, those who have gone before us? Some people say, around us, still knowing all that occupies us; but that is an idea I cannot entertain either. It would not be happiness, but pain, to be beside those we love, yet unable to communicate with them—unable to make ourselves known. . . .

‘The world is changed and my life is darkened; and all that I can do is to take desperate hold of this one certainty, that God cannot have done it without reason.’

That is the note, struck for the first time, of all that is most significant in her work. There was a part of her, not dead but living somewhere, yet inseparably cut off. Living, where and how? That was the question to which her thoughts were incessantly to recur, with more and more instant solicitude, at every new separation. To that question only dreams could give an answer; but these dreams shaped with the clearest logical coherency and moulded into beauty, for her own comfort and the comfort of others, were to be the truly creative work of her life. Yet she returned at once to the old lines, under the double necessity of bread-

winning and of seeking a respite from thought. She worked as well as before, but in an altered spirit; the little flutter of ambition was crushed out, as she wrote to Blackwood in a sad letter about 'Miss Marjoribanks,' the novel then in hand. There was nothing in her circumstances to stop her from doing better work in these years than 'Miss Marjoribanks,' which is only a very good novel, not a great one; the defect was in herself. But in 1868 came the further blow which definitely committed her to over-hasty production. Her brother Frank, who had been the bosom friend of her youth, was married and in business at Liverpool. He failed hopelessly, as it would seem, through no special fault but that incompetence and want of fibre which stamped all the men that in her life she had to do with, and which is reflected in all the men she draws, just as her own active care of their weaker brethren is pictured in a score of her helpful self-confident heroines. The news came to her without the least preparation, but she never hesitated as to her duty. The two elder of his four children, a boy and a girl, came to her; the wife with two others joined him abroad. But in a very little time the wife died, and the man, broken down and all but paralysed, came with his two other children straight to his sister. It was not in her to retrench upon the comfortable way of living to which she had accustomed her household; but she could work double tides, and she did, and was happy, though all payments for her work were invariably forestalled, and her brother's presence in the household was far from being a source of pleasure. He and she had drifted so far apart that they were, not strangers, but worse—kin, but not kind. When he died, she wrote that she was glad to find herself sorry; it made no blank in the household; the man that he had been was dead long before. Yet happy she was in the years at Windsor while the three boys were at Eton, happy in their love and brightness and in their school successes; for at school all the boys did well, and her hopes were high. In all her books, alike the best and the worst, there is a delightful sympathy with youth—with its troubles and its pleasures. Ursula May in 'Phoebe Junior' is a charming picture of a girl; and though her young men are not strongly drawn, her kindness for them communicates itself to the reader. 1875, the year of the brother's death, was a turning point. Frank Wilson, her nephew, had passed high into Cooper's Hill. Cyril, her eldest son, was just leaving Eton for Balliol, and—at least, in his mother's eyes—was a

singularly attractive boy ; she quotes Chaucer's lines about him :—

‘ Singing he was, and flyting all the day,
He was as fresh as is the month of May.’

Her youngest, Cecco, was, as he remained till death, clever, good, and entirely devoted to his mother. ‘ There was no ‘ prouder woman in the world than I was with the three,’ she says. But grief and disappointment were soon at their work. Frank Wilson died of the first fever that attacked him when he went to the Punjaub ; and Cyril Oliphant idled at Oxford, fell into a loose way of living, and drank—yet never without hope of recovery. In the opening chapters of ‘ The ‘ Wizard’s Son,’ published in 1884, Mrs. Oliphant sketches—not without warrant of knowledge—the agony of a mother who sees the son of her hopes drifting aimlessly at the outset of life, and who fears alike by too much reproof to widen the breach between her and him and by too much indulgence to fail of her duty. In 1890 she was still hoping to find him make a real start, when the end came, and her boy died. She had done all she could for him, and it had availed nothing ; she did not even spare herself the pang of thinking that things might have been better had she done less and taught a more strenuous lesson. He was dead, like her firstborn, her woman child ; her surviving son was weakly, and she, with her indomitable health and her fever of apprehension was left to labour in the familiar world and to spend more and more of her life in thoughts of that other dim conjecturable world whither so much of her had passed already.

Long before this her thoughts had been busy with it. In the end of 1878 she wrote the first of her stories of the Unseen—‘ The Beleaguered City ’—which relates how in the city of Semur the dead by reason of the impiety of the living came back, and for a little while ousted them from their homes ; and how during those days the men encamped round about the town, which was enveloped in a thick darkness, but were at every point repulsed from it by an invisible and impassable barrier. The piece is too well known to need description, and it is hardly necessary to point out the skill of narrative by which this entirely incredible occurrence is rendered perfectly credible and even natural. Mrs. Oliphant possessed that art of circumstantial invention in which Swift, Defoe and Bunyan are the great masters. Like them she obtains a credibility for her narrative by presenting vividly through the narrative the

character of the narrator. There is no other man known to us in her books so distinctly as the Mayor of Semur, who draws up, as if officially, the *procès verbal* of the whole affair. Martin Dupin is just a good type of the French *bourgeois*—brave, homely, kindly, full of a sense of duty and of law's majesty, especially as incorporated in his own official person; Voltairian by temper and training, yet respectful to the amiable beliefs of others. He begins and ends the story of the exodus and the return. But in the meanwhile other narratives are included: the story told by Lecamus, the visionary, a living man, yet more at home among the dead than the living, to whom it was permitted to stay in the town and at last to come with a message from the dead to those who would not be convinced; the story of Madame Dupin, the Mayor's mother, who at his bidding turned her back upon her son, leaving him to head the watch outside the town, and herself took command of the strange regiment of women and children; and, chiefly, the narrative of Agnès Dupin, the Mayor's wife, one of those more spiritually minded women who saw as well as felt when the invisible hands pushed the population out of the gates. She saw what no man saw, what only some among the women could see—she saw her dead child.

There you have the key to it all. To certain men perhaps the dead are not dead; the wife of Lecamus comes back to him, and for a moment they have the joy of each other's presence: Mrs. Oliphant writes of this as if she believed it; but that the dead are to many mothers truly living is more than a belief with her; it is a kind of revelation. What she writes of again and again in all these fancies of the Unseen is the meeting and greeting between mother and child. The only blessedness that she can conceive of is something like the highest blessedness that she knew in this world, but perfected and completed. Writing in her sketch of her life about the days when anxieties of all kinds were thickest, she sets this down:—

‘Lately in my many sad musings, it has been brought very clearly before my mind how often all the horrible tension, the dread, the anxiety which there are no words strong enough to describe—which devoured me, but which I had to conceal often behind a smiling face—would yield in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the sound of a voice, at the first look, into an ineffable ease and the overwhelming happiness of relief from pain, which is, I think, our highest human sensation, higher and more exquisite than any positive enjoyment in this world. It used to sweep over me like a wave, sometimes when I opened a door, sometimes in a letter—in all simple ways. I cannot

explain, but if this should ever come to the eye of any woman in the passion and agony of motherhood, she will more or less understand. I was thinking lately, or rather, as sometimes happens, there was suddenly presented to my mind, like a suggestion from some one else, the recollection of these ineffable happinesses, and it seemed to me that it meant that which would be when one pushed through that last door and was met—oh, by what, by whom?—by instant relief. The wave of sudden ease and warmth and peace and joy! I felt, to tell the truth, that it was one of them who brought that to my mind, and I said to myself, “I will not want any explanation, I will not ask any question—the first touch, the first look, will be enough, as of old, yet better than of old.”

And because she was an artist this strong central pre-occupation of her life took shape in form of art. ‘The ‘Beleaguered City,’ which is, properly speaking, not a story but a poem, though it is pitched studiously in the key of prose, and touched often with a delicate humour, was the first work of her life which she wrote neither for amusement nor to make money, but because she was possessed by it. When it was in the doing she wrote to Blackwood about it: ‘It is very much enlarged and altered, you will ‘perceive. I have wasted a good deal of time upon it, which ‘is foolish, but the subject struck my fancy.’ Mr. Townsend, who knew her well, and has written in the ‘Cornhill ‘Magazine’ the keenest judgement of her life and work that we have seen, seems to be misled by this utterance, which says so little. But the habit of speaking lightly of her own work was native to her, and was of long standing; and where that habit is formed, the closer any piece of work lies to the heart of the artist, the harder it is to speak of. When Mrs. Oliphant said this to her publisher, she was saying, we are certain, as much as she could bring herself to say. It is the true *εἰρωνεία*, that untranslatable word of the Greek. And to the end of her life—if these letters be representative—it was only of kindred productions that she cared to speak as if they concerned her. Stories of the unseen she could only write—as she expresses it herself—when they came to her; they were not written to order or for money.

‘The Beleaguered City’ was refused by Blackwood, and appeared in the ‘New Quarterly’ before it was issued in a volume. Two years later, in 1882, it was followed by ‘The ‘Open Door,’ a short story published anonymously in ‘Maga.’ This is nothing more than the story of a voice—not an apparition, but a voice—and of its effect upon various temperaments, told with extraordinary skill and knowledge of human nature. It argues no more than the belief that the dis-

embodied creature roams about familiar places, seeking to re-establish communication with the living, and may by an act of faith or submission, which is practically a recognition of God's parental love, find its way to peace. The story can be fitted into Mrs. Oliphant's theory—if that be the right word—of the unseen world, but it does not imply, much less express, that theory. Her first attempt to set into coherent form by the dramatic means most familiar to her hand the result of her ponderings on what death might mean, was made a few months later when she wrote 'The Little Pilgrim 'in the Unseen.' Here, for the first time, she tells us that she worked upon a definite suggestion given by her own experience: the death in sleep of a dear neighbour of hers, a very simple, almost childish, little old maid.

What she does in her story, if story it can be called, is to picture the awakening of this little woman after her painless death. It is a happy awakening, yet the pilgrim does not know what has happened; but, as Mrs. Oliphant gently imagines it, there are people set to receive the newcomer and explain. It is difficult to write of these things at all. One can only say that this woman creates with a beautiful and intimate familiarity the most human picture of heaven which is known to us. Whether it be heaven or not, whether it be a final state or an intervening one, she has no care to decide: but it is the state of the blessed after death. Her 'Little Pilgrim' is confronted at once when she awakens beyond the passing with thoughts of her past life: so it is always, as Mrs. Oliphant pictures the future. But she has in all her life done nothing but kindness, and she has left none behind her from whom it is an agony to part; so there is nothing in her mind but tenderness as she thinks of others. In her great tenderness she thinks of the friend she has left, and thus for the first time this unseen world is related directly to her who imagines it. As the Pilgrim is thinking 'what a pleasure it would be to make something clear that had been 'dark before to this friend,' there stands by her a maiden, with something in her look by which the Pilgrim divines that she was one who 'had come here as a child and had 'grown up in this celestial place.' And looking at her she recognises the likeness to 'the homely and troubled face 'of her friend.' That is how the mother pictures to herself her child in paradise, not as one who has become a stranger, but grown as she would have grown, only with a diviner growth, dwelling neither out of sight nor hearing of this world, but so near it that she recognises and welcomes her

mother's friend. Of all these writings this is, perhaps, the most beautiful ; and its boldness is not less than its beauty. For the Little Pilgrim, being of those for whom no purgation is needed to fit her for a land where love is the only law, is taken to see great mysteries and is set upon high employments. In that country, as Mrs. Oliphant conceives it, there is no inequality, since there is no envy or rivalry, but there is endless diversity of gifts and of tasks ; and each task is its own reward. The Little Pilgrim, when she has seen the tasks of others, is set to receive those who come in, and their awakening is not always gentle like hers ; some are in terror, some strange and doubting, and they are sent on different ways. Those different ways Mrs. Oliphant has elsewhere tracked out ; but when she wrote this book she was happy and thinking only of those whom she could not conceive as other than blessed.

The next of her stories in this kind was also suggested to her by the personality of a friend who, beautiful in her youth, remained beautiful and courted in extreme old age. 'Old Lady Mary' is one of the finest short stories in the language. The picture of the old lady, with her delicacy and her beauty, her soft shawls and laces, the soft rustle of her dress, and all her daintinesses, is presented to the eye in a way that Gainsborough or Reynolds could not have surpassed in paint ; and by a wonderful subtlety of suggestion it is shown how one whose life has run all on velvet and never so smoothly as towards the close, may come almost to disbelieve in death, till she neglects even to provide for the future of the girl companion whom she loves. Lady Mary dies quietly in her sleep, and she also awakens with a sense of wonder, and is set to contemplate her life. Then there rises up this awful thing she has done : for a jest, merely to show her lawyer, who has always urged her to make her will, that she can manage everything quite well for herself, she has made her will secretly and hidden it, meaning to surprise him with it some day. No one knows that it exists, and for want of it her godchild must be a beggar ; and she cries out for means to set it right. That is why she comes back to the world as a ghost, invisible among those she loves, but hearing the hard things that are said of her, and powerless to put the wrong right, or to assure her child that it was through no lack of love. At last, but after long bitterness, love breaks through the barrier ; Lady Mary does not achieve her purpose, for the will is only discovered by a chance, but she sees her godchild for a moment face to face through the

veil, and knows that love has never doubted of her. The other three writings which have to be mentioned are not so perfect as works of invention, but in some ways of keener interest. 'The Land of Darkness,' published in 1888, is a complement to 'The Little Pilgrim,' where Mrs. Oliphant has sketched such an Inferno as her imagination permitted her to conceive: a hell where no one is kept but by his own unsubmitted will. There are stages in this Inferno, the city of lawless men, the city of dreadful law, the city of unrelenting pleasure, the city of soulless art; but from all these a way of escape, difficult indeed, and terrible, but not impassable, lay always open over the Dark Mountains; and the last chapter in the book describes the ascent as seen from above by the watchers on the mountains, to whom it is appointed as their task in heaven, to sit in towers on the outposts and signal the approach of each wanderer coming, and to hope that at last it may prove to be the one for whom they wait, and whom they shall accompany homeward, leaving their post to some new watcher awaiting some other wanderer.

The iron had gone deep in her woman's heart when she wrote. Her eldest son, Cyril—whom she loved with that passion that a woman gives most to those who give love but also give pain—had long harassed her life with his failings, and the failure of his health made the end inevitable. Yet when it came, the shock was appalling. 'I am like stone,' she writes, but not torpid; her only refuge was in work, and her mind was always 'quickened into intolerable life by 'calamity.' For another four years she nursed her one remaining child, living in his life, and regaining even cheerfulness. But in October 1894 her Cecco also died. 'He 'is gone from me,' she cries, 'my last and dearest, and I am 'left here a desolate woman with the strength of a giant in me, 'and may live for years and years.' Her happiness that had survived so many blows now lay dead in her, and for a moment it seemed as if her energy was dead too. She could not even work. But she rallied and found some comfort in her sorrow in writing the beautiful paper called 'Fancies of a 'Believer.' Here she sets out with an imagination strangely logical the groundwork of all her conception of what lies beyond the grave. These are what she calls her 'fancies,' yet to the imaginative mind imagination is not less real than belief; they are the outcome of a mind which, born 'in an 'age at once more believing and more unbelieving than 'many of the ages that have preceded it,' was one 'whose

‘nature it is to believe rather than to doubt.’ And thus accepting the general framework of Christianity and the outline of the material universe as science shows it, she seeks some answer to the perpetual question—the riddle of the painful world. Believing in God and a loving God, she sees in the world a great experiment created for God’s glory and the delight of the angels. She has the feeling inalienable from the human race that, whatever other worlds may whirl in space, this one has a special and high significance. She conceives of it as offering to a universe, where law reigns absolutely, the spectacle of one world in which there is the power to choose evil, and as showing to the angels a glory of creatures in so many ways infinitely inferior to them, ‘but in this for ever greater than they, that, having the gift of free will and choice, they chose for God.’ There are limits set to the power to choose. ‘This is not a consistent world any more than it is a just one.’ But God does not take back His gift; and the Land of Darkness which she has pictured is a land of men exiled from God’s intervention, and left merely to the devices of their own heart, yet for ever endowed with the power to remember and turn to God and to love. A beautiful passage in that book describes the pleading of the angels with man, before the judgement seat of his own soul; while all that God will do is, not to take back His gift, but standing face to face with the soul sometimes to remove it from the consequence of its own acts and set the created thing to a new start in a new career. Thus what seems cruelty, and is cruel to those who love, may be kindness to the one cut off; and she comforts herself with a fancy of Christ’s special companionship made up by young men, like Himself cut off in their prime; some of them, perhaps, defeated in this world, with no blazon on their shields, but set to a new hope and new life in the same service.

The last remaining of these pieces, ‘The Land of Suspense,’ is surely one of the strangest things ever written: a mother’s vision of the punishment meted to her first-born son. It is a gentle doom yet a stern one; she pictures him as living in a beautiful land peopled only by voices, for there dwell those, like himself, who keep the consciousness of their bodily selves and bodily members, but are to themselves and to each other invisible though able to converse. In a city of that land which stands with open, but impassable, gates, his father waits for him in the

transfigured shape, and knows his coming, but sorrows that it should be in this manner; and the young man puts from him the offered consolation and rebels in his heart till at last he sees his brother, too, coming by the way he came, but coming with his man's shape, and, then, for the first time he rises beyond his own self, and thinks for the mother left desolate; and so in his agony and prayer for her he finds the way for himself. The answer to his prayer for his mother is the end of punishment for himself; that is how the desolate woman consoled herself with thoughts that her own sorrow might work out her son's deliverance. Yet the last word of all is in its pathos almost unbearable: 'As for the prayer which he made, and which was answered in a way which he asked not, it is still unfulfilled; yet they know it is not forgotten, for nothing is forgotten before God.'

So she wrote in her faith; and the words will stir in many that faith in the faith of others which lives often when faith itself is dead or withered or torpid. Motherhood was the soul of her life; it was the hindrance, as we hold, to high achievement in the way of art which she chose in the outset; it was the inspiration of the wisest and most beautiful things that she wrote, things than which few have been written in her lifetime wiser or more beautiful. It made of her life the tragedy of happiness, but bestowed upon her memory a noble and tragic beauty.

- ART. III.—1. *La Vie Artistique*. By GUSTAVE GEFFROY. Deuxième Série. Paris: 1893.
2. *History of Modern Painting*. By R. MUTHER. Vols. II. and III. Translated by A. C. HILLIER. 1896.
3. *L'Art Moderne*. By J. K. HUYSMANS. Paris: 1883.
4. *Notes sur l'Art Moderne*. By ANDRÉ MICHEL. Paris: 1896.
5. *A History of French Art*. By ROSE G. KINGSLEY. London: 1899.
6. *Art. Gustave Moreau*. By M. ABY RENAN. 'Gazette des Beaux Arts.' Vols. XXXIII.—IV. Paris: 1886.

THE criticism of painting, according to M. Gustave Geffroy, may be epitomised in the dialogue with which he heads a section of his book:—

'Artiste, qu'apportes-tu?'

'Et toi, qui m'interroges, que demandes-tu?'

The double interrogation, in so far as it deals with aspects untechnical, unofficial, and informal, and concerns itself mainly with the intellectual and imaginative conditions of contemporary art in England, presents a somewhat complicated problem to the mind of the onlooker. The most superficial survey of the works of modern British artists collected in the Tate Gallery affords the unprofessional spectator a bewildering object-lesson in the warring tendencies of the adverse schools of painting during the century, where Mr. Frith's 'Derby Day' occupies a centre of honour not far removed from Mr. Frederick Walker's 'Harbour of Refuge,' where Dante Gabriel Rossetti's 'Beata Beatrix' is sheltered by the same roof as the 'Carnation Lily, Lily Rose' of Mr. John Sargent, now a naturalised citizen in the kingdom of Royal Academicians. Nor as the century draws to an end are the signs of conflict less obvious, and the exhibitions held during recent summers at the various London galleries testify not only to the continuance of ancient hostilities but to the upgrowth of yet more irreconcilable antagonisms.

It is evident to the least observant of the laity of art that axioms once accounted infallible have changed, and are changing with a velocity that approximates to the rival rapidity of the changes of fashion; while the vital and fundamental nature of the transitions effected indicates a

deeper root than the transient caprice of a passing hour, and 'A temps nouveaux procédés neufs' is the formula of modernism. But it is a formula which, though in theory it may easily be apprehended of the unlearned, embraces a confused medley of widely divergent applications. Indeed, apart from a consistent effort after novelty, the new method would appear to the unilluminated mind of ordinary beholders rather tentative and experimental than positive and assured. The aims of the artist seem to be in a state of solution; his purposes held in suspense; his principles—awaiting possibly their readjustment to new conditions and new surroundings, perhaps to new exigencies of life—lie in abeyance, and the demands of those whose suffrages are claimed no less by the exhibited picture than by the printed book faithfully mirror a like confusion.

It is not that definiteness in the matter of departure from trodden tracks has been lacking on the part of the revolutionists. Old faiths have at least been abjured with dogmatic precision. But from the forsaken high-road byways have radiated towards every point of the compass, and so far the undiscovered countries the artists-errant have sought to explore remain for the bystander lands but vaguely outlined upon a misty horizon. Moreover, the pioneer is for ever shadowed and pursued by the reactionist, and reactions from reaction, although in such subdivision they become more individual than general, have added to the chaos, confusing the eye of a bewildered public with false semblances of primitive simplicity, or exaggerated distortions of the elaborate subtleties of modern thought.

Nor can the frequenter of picture galleries seek a clue to the maze in the broad distinctions under which he instinctively classifies the works before him, assigning them respectively to the school of the conservative or to that of the progressionist of art. The theoretical division, albeit civil war rages in both camps, may remain, as a tendency in the abstract, true. But as an applied theory many radical inexactitudes lie at the base of such classifications. For even amongst the nineteenth-century painters who have arisen as the living disciples of dead ages to embody in their works the ideals and methods discarded by the innovator, criticism must distinguish between man and man; must discriminate between the artist whose inspiration is verily and indeed the inspiration of the past, and the artist—the reactionist *par excellence*—the fountain-head of whose art, though it bear a like semblance, is verily and indeed

the present. And if the works of the one present us with a survival, or it may be a resurrection, of the spirit of a lost century, the works of the other as surely are the children of to-day—the immediate creation, by the laws governing such reaction, of those very schools to which they are the antithesis in idea and in expression. Thus it is—to cite the two greatest names of our own time and country—that on the one hand the pictures of Mr. G. F. Watts, despite their avowed and sympathetic recognition of the progress of modern thought, are stamped with the impress of their great Venetian ancestry. Thus it is on the other that the works of Edward Burne-Jones, despite their insistent mediævalisms of subject and sentiment, are imprinted with the birthmarks of their later day, branded with the languors of its physical exhaustions, its introspective passions, its feverish melancholies. And as in the world of books the school of a Maeterlinck, whether he draw his text from a Ruysbroech or a Novalis, from a Catholic ascetic of the fourteenth or a Moravian mystic of the eighteenth century, may be ascribed as a natural and legitimate offspring of the school to which Zola's genius has given its name, so, viewed from a similar standpoint, the popular acceptance of a Burne-Jones may index for us the force of a transitory ebbtide flow from the insurgent currents of a frank and brutal materialism. Yet it is well to remember that many a reaction of like retrograde seeming, whether it be in the manifestation of the general proclivities of the public or in the personal proclivity of the artist, has proved and may prove in the history of art but a fresh stepping-stone on the road to fresh and still indeterminate goals.

Howsoever this may be—and in matters speculative forecasts do well to acknowledge their fallibility—and leaving the schoolmen of art to expound each in turn their disputed creeds, new or old, to scholars who, each in his turn, aspires to become a doctor of the law, the lay frequenter of galleries is undeniably awakening to a tardy consciousness of novel influences. He is becoming aware that new forces dominate and control the works of English artists, that a new form of appeal to his sympathies is establishing itself, entailing a new or revised conception of art. And, howsoever ignorant he may be of technicalities of treatment, howsoever indifferent to the issues of professional disputes, while his concern is emphatically not with how the painter has achieved his effect, but with the effect the painter has achieved, it is, at the present moment, the nature of that

very effect, and the nature of the response it is destined, intentionally or unintentionally, to elicit, that he is disposed to question.

The worship of the Beautiful, the appeal made by an elder art to the simple sense of physical or ideal beauty, pagan or Christian, religious or secular, has perceptibly, where the most assertive, if not the most essential, vitalities of art are at their strongest, outworn its acceptance. And innovations of theory and practice, inaugurated in the city beloved of revolution, have of late years swayed English artists to an extent insular prejudice is slow to acknowledge. In place of the student of former days, the art school of whose dream was Italy, we have substituted students to whose ambitions the studios of Paris offer the only certificated road to fame. And while the student-tide flows backwards and forwards across the Channel, pictures the public had been wont to regard as mere examples of exotic eccentricity have become acclimatised to the soil, and bid fair to outvie the growths and offshoots of their parent stem. 'S'il y a 'une remarque à faire,' writes M. Geffroy, 'c'est que les 'étrangers suivent peut-être les modes régnautes avec plus 'de précipitation que les indigènes.' Numerically, their proportion to those neutral works we commonly and drearily associate with the summer exhibitions of the Academy is still infinitesimal. But granting that English art and English taste in art have reached a transitional epoch in their history, it is not by the balance of numbers that their importance as symptoms of change, and of the tendencies of change, can be estimated. Further, while the academic multitude shows no diminution, it is clear that the insurgent minority, clamorous for attention, possessed of all the characteristic qualities of reform, arrogant in word, self-assertive in criticism, controversialists in line and dogmatists in colour, is steadily increasing; and face to face with the copyists and disciples of the masters of 'l'école 'moderne,' the public may well echo M. Geffroy's interrogation. It may well question what are in truth the newly discovered gifts which are to supersede the old search for beauty as beauty, of beauty for its own work, its own sake, and its own end.

A perusal of some of the later sections of Miss Kingsley's carefully compiled 'History of French Art,' with a study of the running commentaries of French critics on their contemporaries' achievements, may do much to enlighten us.

Setting aside portrait painting, and taking only three

clearly defined schools of distinctly modern art—of which representative specimens lately exhibited in London will be fresh in the memory of all—and again considering these pictures strictly in their intellectual, emotional, and imaginative relation to the average spectator, it will perhaps be found that those most commonly and closely associated in his thoughts with French models will be the pictures of peasant life of the school of the naturalist, the subject pictures depicting phases of modern civilisation in great cities as seen by the pessimist and the realist, and the pictures of the school of the new symbolist.

The idea of the open-air peasant-life picture—the peasant of ‘*L’Angélus*’ and ‘*Les Glaneuses*,’ the peasant whose invention in art we are accustomed to refer to J. F. Millet, the peasant gleanings, winnowing, sowing, or gathering in the manifold harvest of wheat and barley and fruit, setting forth to labour, or returning again from the field, has taken hold on the sympathies of English artists and the English public with the force of a spontaneous impulse. From the first the personalities of the two great peasant-born, peasant-nurtured painters—J. F. Millet and Bastien-Lepage—commended themselves to the Anglo-Saxon temperament after a special fashion.

It has been said * that French art ‘more than that of any other modern people is a national expression,’ and undoubtedly a strong race feeling, whether appreciative or antagonistic, is latent in much of what we assume to be purely æsthetic criticism. But in the case of Millet, the serious, single-hearted peasant of Normandy, the principle of whose art found utterance in the anathema, ‘*Malheur à l’artiste qui montre son talent avant son œuvre*,’ as to a lesser degree with the affectionate, courageous peasant of Lorraine, Bastien-Lepage, practising his own precept, ‘*Il faut peindre ce que l’on connaît et ce qu’on aime*,’ the sense of alien nationality has been obliterated. Painters of earth and of those children of earth whose daily life is lived in closest kinship to the common parentage of humanity at large, their works, and the works of those who perpetuate the same ideal, have become as completely engrafted upon the walls of English galleries as though they had been indigenous to the soil.

In the ‘*History of French Art*’ the school of the peasant-life painters follows closely upon the chapter dealing with

* French Art. W. C. Brownell. London: 1892.

the painters of the school of romance. And it has been the ungracious way of the world, conforming to its ancient use, to detract from the one the meed and measure of praise it has been the current fashion to bestow upon the other. Critics have systematically taught us to regard as contradictions what are in truth merely differences, and the definitions of doctrinal disputants have been made the gauges of merit, and words, terms, and classifications by which painters have been labelled realist, naturalist, idealist, and the rest have been erected into battle standards. But while such flags, unfurled in the strife of professional dogmatists, may to the unlearned symbolise the warfare, they have long ceased—as the clearer outlook of some writers has lately recognised—to symbolise in any comprehensible manner the causes for which the partisans of the rival schools combat.

Handbooks of art, as a matter of convenience and convention, may treat the romantic school, so called, as professing a creed contrary to the faith of artists whose survey of human life embraces a different range of subjects, and who, with Bastien-Lepage, think ‘qu’on doit tout traïter en ‘portrait.’ But to the eyes of the happier eclectic, whose worship at one shrine does not close for him the doors of all other sanctuaries, one school—so far as the aims of both are true to the sense of beauty—is not more logically as a matter of æsthetic taste opposed to the other than are the ethereal ‘might-bes’ of the creative imagination incompatible, as co-ordinate faculties of the mind, with the substantial ‘have-beens’ and ‘must-bes’ of retentive memory and rational anticipation. For him their art—again so far as all secondary intentions are subordinate to beauty as a primary aim—is an art running on parallel lines. The week-day aspect life holds for one supplements the red-letter aspect life reveals to the other. Romance, whether it be in literature or art, is busied with that side of existence of which the appeal is mainly to the imaginative emotions. Its special province is the emphasised individualities and episodes, the accentuated crises of life, with life at its exceptional moments, with sensations at their extremes, with passions at their climax. To it belong loves, as the loves of Paolo and Francesca, worship, as the worship of Dante to Beatrice, Hamlet’s melancholy, Francis d’Assisi’s ecstasy, the fair soul in the distorted body of the hunchback of Notre-Dame. Romance, whatever its theme may be—whether it draw its subject-matter

from the far past or the near, from the legend of a Launcelot or the history of a Jeanne d'Arc—sets its seal of a supreme emotion upon the outward framework of its figures, and environs its scenes with the atmosphere of the Mount of Transfiguration.

Such moments, such extremes, are, according to the gospel of the ideal, an integral element of actuality. The daily bread of common things may for every man, if fate so will, be momentarily transmuted into the high feast of the gods. Life may at any instant work its miracles of faith or love, or sorrow or sin; grapes spring from the thorn bush, the thistle bear figs, despite alike the Scripture and the sceptic. From such a standpoint of the truths of possibilities it has been the function of romance to depict with pen or brush the lives of women and men, depicting them, moreover, with the implicit recognition, characteristic of the greatest epochs of romanticism, that the fires that illuminate are likewise those that waste and consume the earth-nature of man. It is with the loss of the ascetic accent, the accent mediæval Christianity had branded upon the ideals of life with its implacable austerity of abstract principle, that modern romance has to a marked degree forfeited its old honours. With the loss of those 'dear bargains' which exacted all for all, and inculcated the necessity of the utmost payment for the utmost gain with its necessary correlation of joy and suffering, it has vulgarised its purpose with the trivialities of graceful sentimentalism. It inclines, on the one hand, towards a transcendental domesticity, and on the other links itself with an effeminate symbolism, and in both tendencies abdicates its chief claim to existence as the accepted illustration of the superlative element of actuality.

The school originated by J. F. Millet and his disciples has at once intellectually a wider scope and theoretically a farther horizon. For it is obvious that wherever and by whatever means the artist indicates an extreme he suggests perforce a limit. Inasmuch as he expresses a climax, whether it be of emotion or action, he introduces an intimation of finality as opposed to the infinite. The utmost intensity of a passion is for us its boundary, its last word is the last; after remains not a voice, but an echo, the repetition, the reiteration not of emphasis but of decline and weakness. And as the exponent of imagination the romance painter, the painter of extremes, erects his own barrier. In his capacity as the artist of individualism and episode, as

the artist of exceptionalism in passion or action, he pays a similar forfeiture to those intellectual laws not to be evaded even by forms of art addressed primarily to the senses. The figures he elects to set apart from the human multitude as a whole, while they gain force as manifestations of personality, lose weight in their broader significance as fractions of a universe. They belong the less to life at large in its vastness and breadth in exact proportion to the inviolate concentration of their individuality, and the general is inevitably sacrificed to the particular. They have undeniably their place, and the diamond is as much a splinter of the rock as the flint. But while the gem has its fire, the stones of the high-road have closer associations, more readily apprehended affinities with that earth whose surface has been trodden by the feet, eager or laggard, of the myriad generations who have tracked its paths, climbed its mountains, traversed its deserts—generations to whom it has been in turn the home-place of birth and of life and the abiding-place of sleep.

It is by virtue of such associations that the painter of peasant life, by whatsoever method he may choose to enforce his appeal, evokes intellectual sympathy. He strikes his deepest note only when he bases his appeal upon the recognition of the universality of common things, upon the familiarity of frequent occurrences, upon the most ordinary experiences undergone by the greatest number. Thus, eschewing the life of cities, with their sharper distinctions of class and class, where landmarks sever the artisan and the labourer, where each separate district, each diverse trade, prints for trained eyes its characteristic, if ephemeral, stamp upon the features and figures of the workmen and workwomen who crowd the street, he seeks the open plains and the wider expanses of meadow-land. He elects scenes where no such subtle influences modify all the natural elements of being, where no disintegrating interests resolve masses into groups as conclusively as the conventions of romance resolve humankind into personalities. In peasant life he centralises his conception of a condition of existence where, if personality is not effaced, the influences that mould and direct its course are simpler, where the unavoidable divergencies of circumstances are minimised, and the bent of growth is given rather by the impersonal hand of Nature than by the arbitrary will of man.

For the peasant his daily routine is linked with the course of the year's revolving seasons. To each and all alike

winter and summer, springtime and harvest, dictate the occupation of every present hour. Snow, rain, heat, storm, sunshine, and wind fashion with immutable impartiality for each man his day's labour, lighten his toil or enhance his burthen, and for his gains he deals direct with the great Paymaster, from whom no bargaining can extort a higher wage. And it is this near, constant and intimate relationship of these unnumbered human lives to the life of that earth—'dont ils sont comme des morceaux animés'—which makes itself felt to a greater or less degree, according to the genius, according to the sympathy, and yet more according to the sincerity, of the painter. The natural outgrowth, given the temperament of the race, of such close relationship to the operation of the powers of the elements is in sentiment a passive acquiescence—'L'ouvrier de Paris est 'un révolté—le paysan est un résigné.' Great forces in Nature are apt to create for their counterpart in the spirit of man a strenuous, immeasurable and imperturbable patience, far removed from the fretful rancours and resentments engendered by the adverse contact of men with their fellow-men in the eager traffic of city life. It is a patience which, as one of the confessedly essential characteristics of Millet's conceptions, has taken to itself a perceptibly emotional value, while its neutrality is tinged by the melancholy of an artist to whom 'le côté joyeux' of earth had never revealed itself—'Je ne sais où il est—je ne l'ai jamais vu.'

In the Anglicised version of Millet's ideal, with which the walls of London galleries have made us familiar, the conception in its more recent manifestations has undergone certain readjustments of treatment. The theme is still identical—the toil of pasture-lands and meadows and orchards, the ingathering of the harvests of brown barley or white-eared corn or fallen apples, the toil of the harrowing, of the mowing, the toil of scythe and of sickle, of the haymaker and the hop-picker, of the women who weed or glean or bind the sheaves. We see them brown-visaged, brown-handed and brown-limbed, faces tanned with sun and roughened with winds; by morning light, when the long day is before them; in the light of the hot midday interim of rest; in the light of the low sun before it loses itself in the dusk, before the rose of the sky fades in the yellow atmosphere and the blue silvers of the twilight are kindled with the sultry radiance of the harvest moon and the currents of the air rustle crisply through the standing wheat, or pass dumbly across the irresponsive silence of the

stubble fields of newly reaped grain. But whether it be dawn, noon, or evening, whether the harvest be over or to come, we are conscious, if not precisely of the *côté joyeux* of Nature, yet for the most part of a spirit and atmosphere of hope and health and vigour. The autumn there painted has little in it to presage decay, the labouring figures are without suggestion of exhaustion, and in repose they betray neither lassitude nor languor. The sun tans without scorching, and the chill is gone from the dewfall, the grass does not wither and the flower does not fade, and the common, blunt-edged, daily tragedies of human tradition—age that lives, youth that dies—are effaced from remembrance under the serene tranquillities of open skies. Common things are there subject to common influences, but too often the connexion is missing or the influence is circumscribed. The mournful bent figures of Mr. Frederick Walker's 'Mushroom Gatherers,' the tragedy of Mr. F. Bramley's 'Hopeless Dawn,'* the sentiment of Mr. La Thangue's 'Man with the Scythe,'* where the autumn of death invades the springtime of childhood, have passed almost wholly from sight in the peasant scenes exhibited during the last two or three years. A sunny optimism prevails, admitting scarcely an afterthought of doubt, and life so dealt with becomes, as in Mason's pastoralisations, life shifted and specialised; it drifts out of touch with the great average, it despoils itself of that dominant quality ascribed by M. Michel to Millet's genius, the quality that continuously and triumphantly asserted the close relationships of 'ceux qui n'ont pas d'histoire' to the immensities of 'la vie universelle.'

But if the peasant-painter of later days has tended towards both the specialisation and the pastoralisation of his theme, the painter usually classified under the elastic designation of 'peintre de la vie contemporaine' has carried, above all in his subject-pictures of the life of great cities, specialisation to its extreme point. The painter of 'modernité,' and of all it may be taken in the mouth of French critics to imply, is essentially the painter of humanity in detail, of its divisions and districts and classes, of its professions and recreations, of the characteristics of grades as they range from the gutter to the middle class, and hence again upwards. He has made his art the art of the newspaper reporter, recording with equal skill, brilliancy

* Tate Gallery.

and felicity the trivial gossip of the fashion paper and the sordid tragedies of the police news.

Every history, every journal of art has told the story of the upgrowth of the new order of realism, pioneered in the first instance by painters whose disciples at the present day have left their masters far in the rear. In every history of current and contemporary criticism may be traced the developments of the innovations: from Courbet, whose system, as explained by himself, was to replace the cult of the ideal by the cult of the real, whose ambition was to be 'non seulement un peintre, mais encore un homme,' and in that capacity to translate the manners, ideas and aspects of his epoch according to his individual appreciation of them, and whose theory found its embodiment more especially in his choice and selection of subjects, to Manet, who determined the new movement by his novel methods of treating the subjects chosen. And again history passes onwards, indicating and exemplifying the widening circle of Manet's influence over the group of mutineers, 'les Indépendants' who, combining the extremes of novelty in the choice of themes with the extremes of novelty in method and treatment, have in turn erected what may be called new canons and conventions of revolt, which in their assumptions of infallibility and their intolerance of contravention bid fair to equal the assumptions and bigotries of older régimes.

The formulas of the school have been variously rendered by its most eminent adherents in the world of criticism, who are in truth our safest guides to a clear understanding of its claims. From them we learn primarily that it is necessary to discriminate between true and false 'modernité.' For there are already heretics in the schism, and the mere painter of costume, which, as M. Fromentin asserts, Worth would have painted had he possessed the temperament of a painter, is summarily excommunicated. With him the model-painter, the painter of stage rags and of the whole *dramatis personæ* of the studio, are dismissed from the ranks. The artist of 'la vérité vraie' must work not only from life, but from the real life; the model must be what it represents. 'Il fallait aller chez une vraie dame, si l'on voulait peindre 'une dame,' and the 'Portrait of a Lady' must find its justification and verification in the pedigree of the sitter. Further, it does not suffice the subject-painter (for in the matter of trees, grasses, seas and rocks the new is as the old, and the old as the new) to depict reality as reality alone,

for its own sake and as its own end. But it must be a reality characteristic of its own and no other period. Life must be reproduced only under those salient forms which stamp it as modern; it must be portrayed in its most perceptible points of divergency from the life of all other epochs. The past, said M. Charles Baudelaire in his study of the works of Constantin Guys,* has its interest, apart from all other considerations, as the past. The pleasure we derive from representations of the present is, in part, due to 'sa qualité essentielle de présent.' And it is, we may conclude, in his capacity to seize, illustrate, and infect the spectator with the sensation, the consciousness of this quality, that the art of the true 'modern' consists. 'Je ne veux pas dire,' Fromentin exclaims in the dialogue quoted by M. Huysmans, 'qu'il faille avoir beaucoup d'esprit, mais voir l'esprit des choses.' And this spirit, this essence of life, although differentiated in each class and each person, though subject to a thousand individual modifications of temperament or professional habit, though coloured, neutralised or exaggerated by every current of personality, must, in the painter of 'la vie contemporaine,' carry its warranty and certificate of age, of *modernité*—must evidence beyond dispute that it is the spirit of this and of no other day of which he is the interpreter.

Starting from such premises we may naturally and legitimately inquire what are the phases of contemporary life artists professing, practising and teaching such a creed have found most congenial to their purpose, and what phases of truth they have found their method of treatment best adapted to reproduce. Pledged to see things as they are, so far as may be; pledged again, so far as may be, to represent them as seen, it is still left, always with the proviso that the theme be distinctively appertaining to his own day and generation, to the artist's own taste and discretion to choose what he will look at.

The question admits only of an inconclusive and provisional response. The French pictures of the school, as exhibited in this country, have been comparatively few in number, and the pictures of their imitators have not, perhaps, been of a quality to arrest attention or invite analysis on the part of the average Englishman; while to deliver judgement and pronounce sentence upon a develop-

* Le Peintre de la Vie Moderne [L'Art Romantique]: Charles Baudelaire, 1885.

ment of art belonging so particularly to its original surroundings, and so impregnated with the atmosphere of its primary nationality, would be to fall into the trap some foreign critics have set for their own feet in their appreciation of equally characteristic national developements of the art of their English contemporaries. But whatever diffidence may be felt in the expression of assured opinions concerning the general features of pictures themselves—products of a school the concluding chapters of whose history are yet unwritten—it is impossible to read the criticism of critics most overtly prejudiced in their favour without becoming aware that the works their adherents most emphatically commend indicate clearly enough the special sections of life which, in their estimation, the artist of *modernité* has noted most accurately and registered most successfully, and which it may therefore be assumed are, to an appreciable extent, typical of his choice of the spheres of observation best suited to his ends.

Taking M. Huysmans' records of Paris exhibitions of 1879–1882, when the works of the new school claimed, as more or less novelties, a close and detailed criticism, three or four names amongst the painters of subject-pictures stand out, all more or less familiar to English readers of the literature of art. Setting aside M. Manet—who, according to his critic, had at that epoch sacrificed his principles at the altar of compromise—the names of MM. Degas, Raffaëlli, Caillebotte, and Forain appear recurrently as examples of the most impeccable originators or disciples of the new art. And to these names may be added that of M. Toulouse-Lautrec, examples of whose work—described by M. Geffroy—were shown at the inauguration of International Exhibitions in London.

The gift of description has been liberally bestowed on M. Huysmans. The brush of the artist could scarcely create a more vivid—if not a more just—impression of the nature of works than that produced by his pen. So far, however, as the group of artists is concerned as exemplifying the school of the rigidly and strictly modern naturalist, the works of M. Raffaëlli would seem occasionally to have transgressed the bounds prescribed by a code which logically prohibits the dominant expression of generalities common to all ages. If M. Huysmans has not done his pictures an act of happy injustice, the 'peintre des pauvres gens et des 'grands ciels' is one in whose works the sentiment, however localised, implies—to borrow a felicitous phrase used

by M. Geffroy in another connexion—‘un souvenir et une *‘synthèse ajoutés au réel.’* The painter-specialist of the desolate suburbs of Paris, of their denizens, of the city vagabond, of the drifting concourse, howsoever habited, that reveals itself as the race of the disinherited, if he has painted the lives of to-day’s misery, has no less recorded the undated misery of life, and the squalors of localised individual suffering are lost in the sense of that infinity of universal tragedy.

M. Huysmans’ paraphrase of ‘Un retour de Chiffonniers’ records one such impression :—

‘Le crépuscule est venu dans l’un de ces mélancoliques paysages qui s’étendent autour du Paris pauvre, des cheminées d’usine crachent sur un ciel livide des bouillons de suie. Trois chiffonniers retournent au gîte accompagnés de leurs chiens. . . . M. Raffaëlli a évoqué le charme attristé des cabanes branlantes, des grêles peupliers en vedette sur ces interminables routes qui se perdent, au sortir des remparts, dans le ciel. En face de ces malheureux qui cheminent éreintés, dans ce merveilleux et terrible paysage, toute la détresse des anciennes banlieues s’est levée.’

And whether it be in such miseries as those portrayed in M. Raffaëlli’s early workmanship, or whether in the later works described by M. Geffroy, when in some ripened mood of the artist’s genius misery would appear to have signed an armistice with life, we may well recognise the ‘*tendance à ‘cette humanitaierie qui gâte les paysans de Millet’* for—M. Huysmans.

To no such reproach is the work of M. Degas subjected. For M. Huysmans ‘un peintre de la vie moderne était né,’ and we may legitimately seek here for some ideals of the school of disillusionment, questioning what is the nature of those ballet themes in which M. Degas’ peculiar gifts have found their most congenial expression. That the art of movement, of posture, of rhythm—the art which pre-eminently is the art of physical vitality—should afford a great painter subject-material is in the natural course of things. But dancing, like all other arts, is a muse of many masks. M. Huysmans is careful to leave us in no danger of error concerning the aspect under which M. Degas has for the most part registered her features. His eulogies make us aware of the conscientious exactitude of the reproductions of ‘les dislocations de clowns,’ of ‘la torture des ‘membres,’ of ‘l’embêtement de la fatigue’ undergone in the great training classes of the ballet, of the mental and physical aspects of the scene, ‘notés avec une perspicacité

‘d’analyste à la fois cruel et subtil;’ of the infinite dexterity with which the artist has caught ‘les éclats des rampes devant lesquelles braillent, en décolleté, des chanteuses, ou s’ébattent, en pirouettant, des danseuses;’ of the certainty with which he has poised his acrobats, of the skill with which he has obtained his effects of ‘la vraie chair poudrée de veloutine avec son grenu éraillé, vue de près, et son maladif éclat vue de loin.’ With equal precision he has given

“une curieuse étude de l’organisme de chacune d’elles. . . . Ici l’hommasse qui se dégrossit et dont les couleurs tombent sous le misérable régime du fromage d’Italie et du litre à douze; là les anémies originelles, les déplorables lymphes des filles couchées dans les soupentes, éreintées par les exercices du métier, épuisées par de précoces pratiques avant l’âge; là encore les filles nerveuses dont les muscles saillent sous le maillot, de vraies danseuses, aux ressorts d’acier, aux jarrets de fer.’

Under such semblances M. Degas presents the special phase of life with which, presumably, his art finds closest affinity. Technically his works may possess the highest order of interest, and may serve as a lesson in resources and possibilities. Moreover, in them some may find a beauty invisible to others, for who shall assume to see with the eyes of all? and amongst much which is wholly unbeautiful M. Degas may here and there fashion from the ‘mire of the street the grace of a woman.’ But as a representation of life, whether in sight of the pictures themselves or in reading the pages of the critic, the conviction forces itself upon the mind that M. Degas, like many of his fellows, has confused reality—the reality claimed as the Alpha and Omega of modernism—with truth. Life, like the impressionist landscape, must be viewed at a little distance to be justly estimated, and only so viewed does it balance its own proportion of light and shadow, grossness and nobility, of the poverty and the riches of human nature, harmonising the discords of fractional actualities in the atmosphere of general truths. From this distance M. Degas has not regarded life. Further to pursue the analogy, as the eye needs due space between it and the canvas if it is to possess itself of that unsubstantial colour, ‘la couleur absente,’ created by the optical blending of the pallet’s cruder hues, so the eye of the mind, too, needs space in which to generate the ‘couleur absente’ of truth, the evasive quality that inarticulately asserts, whether in the circus-tent or the opera green-room, the kinship of saint and

prodigal contingent on the solidarity of humanity. It is a quality without which all representations of life lack at least one element of reality.

So the chronicles of the new art pass onwards through pages which tell of 'le coin de l'existence contemporaine,' 'fixé tel quel,' by M. Caillebotte, with his dreary levels of scenes from middle-class *intérieurs*, the disillusionment where with impatience or resignation 'le couple s'ennuie—comme 'cela arrive dans la vie' of the gentler art of the painter of girls, M. Renoir, 'un galant et aventureux charmeur,' and other lesser lights. And then once more the theme changes to sombre earnest, and in M. Forain the *déclassée* has found a specialist, while in the squalid series of Moulin-Rouge * episodes M. Toulouse-Lautrec takes for his province 'la basse humanité.' It is an attitude by itself in the art of the moment which, as a spreading tendency, may give rise to many and various questions concerning the responsibilities of public galleries. But even setting aside such questions, in both man and woman there is an instinctive chivalry which, while it may pass by with indifference libels true or false launched broadcast against the ranks of virtue and prosperity, will revolt from such delineations, the brutal exposition of the features of a class who above all other classes pay the last farthing of moral and physical degradation. That it is a class that can appeal to no defender, and hope for no apologist save amongst those members, Catholic or Protestant, of the world's great confraternity of pity who have succoured, tended, and felt for outcast and pariah the tie of personal relationship and the bond of human kindness, should in itself make the act of those who exploit and exhibit its miseries an act of cowardice and betrayal. It is possible for a man in all good faith to hold the doctrine that even the grosser moral and physical maladies of civilisation are fit subjects for art. Possible in good faith to apply broadcast the maxim 'la vérité contient la 'moralité.' † The conscience of one is not as the conscience of another, individually or nationally. But while every man, according to his best ability, must write his own Decalogue, when he embodies its results the artist must not complain if the hard saying of M. Charles Baudelaire be remembered: 'Le choix des sujets c'est l'homme.'

In comparison with the painters of the school of peasant-

* Exhibited at the International Exhibition, 1898.

† Préface de Marie Tudor. Victor Hugo.

life, and that of the painter of *modernité*, the school of the symbolist, in its later developements of a somewhat spurious and sensualistic mysticism, occupies at the present time an undefined and dubious position in London picture galleries. Its distinctions to the public at large are vague; its sentiment is recognised more in the light of isolated instances than as the tendency of a group. With the allegorist England has long been familiar. Allegory has been the favourite language, the vocabulary of Mr. G. F. Watts's thoughts, of the ideas and aspirations he ascribes in figurative phraseology to the progress of mankind. Under his ascendancy it has established itself amongst us in the guise and fashion of a species of translation into forms and actions of ideas and imaginations, as an emblematical transcription of actual processes, spiritual, mental, natural, or emotional, and includes the personification of abstractions belonging to the domains of soul or matter. In the actions delineated the allegorist suggests consonance and sequence; his work—to borrow a literary metaphor—is of a narrative order. His impersonations enact their parts in reasonable and coherent accordance with a given scheme and continuity of thought. In the moral world Faith rebaptizes her sword in water, Love bars the door against Death, or in the Nature-world Spring discards the garb of Winter, Sleep lies in the arms of Night.

But while allegory under such semblances is familiar to us, symbolism—the recent pictorial symbolism—so far as its treatment and intention may be apprehended by the uninitiated, has a more complex aim. It serves, for the most part, for the enunciation of a single phase of feeling or sensation. Where it draws most exclusively its inspiration from the artificial mystic of present fashion, it conceives of the forms and substances it portrays not as mere emblems, arbitrarily connected (according to the tradition of the allegorist) with the abstractions they represent, but as possessing inherent congruities with the intellectual images of which they are the autograph signature. The new symbolism reads moral affinities in colours, sympathies in the moulds and shapes of substances; discovers instincts in the inanimate, passions in marbles, and emotions in leaves. For the symbolist hands join in every direction behind the screen, in every twilight borderland of vitalities he detects secret amalgamations of life with life.

‘Baudelaire appelait sentiment de la *correspondance* le sentiment, qui, dans les créations poétiques, nous fait découvrir un parallélisme

secret entre chaque état de l'âme et un état correspondant de la nature inanimée. C'est le sentiment qui nous permet de pratiquer au moyen des arts plastiques une sorte de sorcellerie évocatoire, et de délinier l'attitude mystérieuse que les objets de la création tiennent devant le regard de l'homme.' *

There is, undoubtedly, a manner of regarding life individually and universally, comprised in a transcendental creed, for which a scheme of systematic symbolism is the only logical and adequate method of exposition. For the mystic the life of the body and the life of the soul, the life of matter and the life of spirit, run on parallel lines, attached the one to the other, but not fused. Further, he holds that what may be true of the two in their union may be false of either in its independent capacity, and through their joint semblance he reads their separate histories, as St. Augustin when he teaches that 'quand Moïse dit qu'il n'y avait point 'encore de verdure sur la terre, cela veut dire que les âmes 'n'avaient point encore conçu d'affections terrestres.' Transferring such a doctrine of the dualities of existence from religion to art, symbolism in art, as in theology, is its legitimate vehicle. And in his endeavour to express by sensible images to ocular vision things immaterial and unsubstantial, governed by laws and conditions belonging to another plane of existence, the outward incoherence characterising so many of the symbolist's efforts is an initial result of the complexity of his aim. It ensues that his success or failure must be measured by the degree to which he is able to evoke some intuitive perception, rather than any distinct comprehension, of the significance he ascribes to the imagery he employs; and his appeal must always be in its nature emotional and suggestive, rather than intellectual and circumstantial.

Gustave Moreau, who in Muther's exhaustive 'History of 'Modern Painting' heads the list of the mystic reactionists in French art—although by virtue of an intense personality his works stand alone—has given to many, if not to all, of his pictures the unmistakable touch of a symbolism founded upon the conception of such dualities; upon the vision of a world where action and intention are more often dissonant than harmonious, where thought and reality march side by side as dislocated entities giving birth to rival impulses. He is the painter 'd'une réalité passée, d'un rêve toujours présent.' In some instances he may be an allegorist pure and

* Ary Renan ('Gazette des Beaux Arts,' 1877).

simple. In the picture of 'Orpheus Dead'—known in England by engravings—we may see in the figure of the Thracian girl who bears the head of the dismembered god upon his lyre the incarnation of the world's pity for that beauty defaced by death. It is 'notre compassion qui marche en 'portant son fardeau.' But in 'L'Apparition'* the deeper mysticism of the symbolist asserts itself where, amidst the sombre luxury of the doomed king's presence-chamber, Salome stands motionless, arrested in her dance, and we divine that the radiant phantom of the Baptist's bleeding head, fair as a Christ's, suspended in the jewelled dusk between the columns of the vast hall, confronts not the eye but the soul of the woman. And whether her action denote, as M. Ary Renan, in the light of Heine's vulgarised and brutalised version of St. Mark's narrative, interprets it, the resurrection of a passion, or whether it may betoken the birth of a remorse, is of no importance, for equally and in either case it is no outward miracle M. Moreau records, but after his wont, an incident of the soul: 'un instant 'décisif au point de vue morale et non pas un instant 'palpitant au point de vue scénique.' Yet albeit with M. Moreau symbolism may be an integral element of art, his pictures for the most part belong to a class where the apologue of the spiritual history is founded upon traditional themes of myth or legend. Again to quote from the brilliant criticism of the son of M. Ernest Renan and the grandson of M. Ary Scheffer, with Moreau, as with other sections of his school,

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'l'art a sauvé l'antique fiction symbolique et a conclu avec elle un indissoluble mariage. . . . Nous transportons nos passions dans les récits vieux comme le monde; nous acceptons les théogonies les plus obscures, et nous les éclairons d'un réffet nouveau; nous supposons aux entités les plus légendaires nos joies, nos douleurs et nos doutes; nous inventons un panthéisme et une mysticité qui sont en partie notre œuvre nous établissons les règles d'une symbolique où nous mêlons toutes nos sensations individuelles à l'esprit anonyme de l'antiquité. On dit des religions de l'antiquité qu'elles sont anthropomorphes: on peut dire l'art l'est aussi.'

Possibly the younger developments of such a school are most familiar to the English public, whether for praise or dispraise, through the subject-pictures of M. Fernand Khnopff. Examples of M. Khnopff's works have for some time past found almost yearly a place on the walls of the New

* Exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery.

Gallery. To describe the impression, so far as it is intellectual or imaginative, of paintings whose constituent qualities, apart from their beauty of colour, are vagueness of sentiment and an impenetrable obscurity of intention is impracticable. They produce upon the mind the effect of inverted actualities; they have a paradoxical realism: the secondary realism of an accurate reproduction of dream-phenomena. They have the same inconsequences, the same incongruities, the same dislocations of natural order. Marble shifts into flesh, woman changes into stone, violets fall from nowhither on to steel armour, blue sapphires crystallise on a human breast. The delicate texture of the faces is unlined; no finger-mark of fleeting hours has printed its record on the smooth surface, but the outlines of the features are wasted and worn as if with years, and in the contradiction the sense of time is effaced and a balanced neutrality reigns which is neither youth nor age—nor yet, above all, immortality. And underneath that passive monotone of exterior form the currents of the inner life sweep on with the equivocal silence of flood-tides in a mist. The sinister Sphinx he has painted in 'L'Ange' crouched beneath the hand of the warrior statue; the leopard-bodied woman beside the youth in 'Les Caresses,'* are the externalised vision of what dwells not without, but within—of the unanswered question, the untamed instinct, that hide for decades under the coverlet of sane custom only to uprear themselves at length in one moment of disastrous awakening to assert dominion over the soul of man. And both Sphinx and Leopard have in very truth their actual abiding-place in the innermost chamber of the House of Life, while the passion-lily with withered stem and faded leaf which leans across the white drapery of the girl in 'Une Aile Bleue'† is a flower grown in the enclosed garden of a woman's heart. Thus M. Khnopff has given shape and semblance to the moods of the senses, the emotions of the nerves, and the ghosts that haunt the recesses of the mind. He has dreamt dreams with his brush, signifying, in the words of Novalis, 'rents in the 'curtain that veils a man from himself;' and where the mystic of old spiritualised matter, he, and those of his fellows whose temperaments are swayed by kindred impulses, have, contrariwise, materialised and sensualised spirit.

Other artists have carried yet further and into other, baser fields the scheme of symbolic expression. The skeleton

* New Gallery, 1896.

† *Ibid.* 1898.

framework of myth and legend, the natural forms of man and beast and plant, have not sufficed them. They have endeavoured to create novel formulæ for the disclosure of thoughts and sensations which have hitherto eluded connexion with established conventions of analogy. Colour in their hands arrogates to itself new meanings. The phrases repeated on page after page of M. Maeterlinck's lyrics, of colour-epithet, 'Les songes lilas,' 'Les lys jaunes des lendemains,' 'L'ennui bleu dans le cœur,' 'Les serpents violets des rêves,' 'Les tiges rouges des haines, Entre les deuils verts de l'amour,' find their counterparts and equivalents in the emblematic employment of the neo-mystic's pallet, and in those pictures where instead of an allegory we are confronted with a riddle, where instead of a symbol we only discover an acrostic.

Undeniably, in some instances the symbolist of to-day has striven against the tide to claim some heritage from the high lineage of the far past in his attempts at the representation of heights inaccessible, as with all their affectations and absurdities the manifestos of the 'Rose & Croix' exhibitions demonstrate. But in other schools contrary aims have prevailed, and the symbolist has mainly concerned himself with embodiments not only of the levels, but of the degradations of creation. Where Eastern religions used symbols as the veil of human reverence for the great operations of Nature they deified and worshipped, new modes of art have invented or misapplied the healthless grotesques, the distorted forms, the diseased hieroglyphics of an affected hysteria for the exposition of desecrated and vitiated instincts of humanity. M. Huysmans has described on various occasions works exhibited by M. Odillon Redon—

'des figures étranges, des faces en poires tapées et en cônes, des têtes avec des crânes sans cervelets, des mentons fuyants, des fronts bas se joignant directement aux nez, puis des yeux immenses, des yeux fous, jaillissant de visages humaines déformés, comme dans des verres de bouteille, par le cauchemar. . . . Ici était un énorme dé à jouer où clignait une paupière triste . . . là encore une tige se dressait supportant comme une fleur ronde une face exsangue. . . . Là une épouvantable araignée logeant au milieu de son corps une face humaine.'

Such deformities and distortions of sight have had their copyists and imitators, while, hand in hand with works of art where 'les vitraux d'églises semblent avoir été transportés dans la brasserie et l'on a la sensation d'assister à un carnaval mystique' have arisen the morbid and repul-

sive developements of 'le mysticisme érotique.' And with these last offshoots of the school, the symbolist of the old world—the Keeper of the Secret—with his self-control, his dignity of reticence and strength of reserve, has wholly vanished from the scene, and usurping his vacant place we find the spurious symbolist of the new world—the Secret-teller—whose office, so far as any mysteries of life are his, is to unfold them in vulgar travesty or gross caricature to the curiosity of the catechumen and the schoolboy.

Under some such aspects new schools of art have brought their products to a public inconsistent in its admirations, ignorant in its blame, swayed by veering and often irrelevant sympathies, a public that affords the painter ample room for counter-criticism. Further, it is a public no less responsible than the painter himself for the quality of his work. 'Il est très rare, et l'on peut dire, il est presque impossible, que l'artiste ne soit pas de son temps,' for more than other men he lives 'de la vie du milieu où il se trouve placé,'* and there is inevitably a relationship of mutual demand, with the ensuing proclivity to conformity of sentiment, between the studio, where the painter paints, presumably, to please himself, and the gallery where he exhibits, presumably, to benefit the public. It follows as a natural consequence that when verdicts of originality are accorded to mere eccentricities, when violence and exaggeration are accepted as evidence of strength, and the absence of self-control is allowed to pass for imaginative vision, eccentricity, exaggeration and hysteria will perpetuate themselves in art; while so long as artificialities of fashion dictate æsthetic judgements, whose only proper base is knowledge of the first principles of art, the insincerities of those English schools whose replicas of foreign models suggest a pose or an imitation will correspond to the demand.

* *L'Esthétique.* Eugène Véron, Paris, 1878.

- ART. IV.—1. *The Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, Esq., preserved at Dropmore.* Vols. I. and II. ‘Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports.’ London: 1892 and 1894.
2. *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, K.G., preserved at Belvoir Castle.* Vol. III. ‘Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports.’ London: 1894.
3. *Correspondence between the Right Hon. William Pitt and Charles, Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1781–1787.* London: 1890.
4. *Pitt: Some Chapters of his Life and Times.* By the Right Hon. EDWARD GIBSON, Lord Ashbourne. London: 1898.

THE charming illustration by which Plunket, in perhaps the most beautiful image that ever relieved the aridity of a judicial decision, described the action of time in creating prescription, may be applied with equal point to the labours of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. ‘Time,’ said Plunket, ‘is the great destroyer of evidence, but he is ‘also the great protector of titles. He comes with a scythe ‘in one hand to mow down the muniments of our possession, ‘while he holds an hour-glass in the other from which he ‘incessantly metes out the portions of duration that are ‘to render the muniments no longer necessary.’ As the fame of great names grows dim with the lapse of years, and as the stately figures of the past fade with the departure of their surviving contemporaries into the obscurity of the unknown, time as gradually removes the hindrances to the revelation of the secret motives, passions, or prejudices which have swayed the actions or governed the policy of statesmen, and permits the publication of those confidential documents which, written under cover of the utmost secrecy, become to the historian the most veracious of all records of the controversies of the past.

Seldom has the memory of a statesman who filled a large space in the world of his own day been so completely blotted out of the national recollection of his countrymen as that of John FitzGibbon, Earl of Clare. No individual Irishman, perhaps, has ever exercised a greater direct authority over the affairs and fortunes of his native country than that which Clare wielded, or exerted a more enduring influence upon her history. Yet his memory faded out with the departure of the generation which knew him, till scarce a trace

remained of his once commanding personality. No contemporary ever essayed his biography; and the destruction, by his own direction, of all the personal and political correspondence in his possession at his death, seemed to render it for ever impossible to learn more of his life than could be gathered from the bald and inadequate annals of his time. And as time passed on the growing obscurity of his fame was deepened by the removal of those visible memorials by which the present is anchored to the past. The title which he founded was extinguished, in the person of his grandson, in the charge of Balaclava. His estates are not now in the possession of his descendants, the splendid mansion he dwelt in has been dismantled, and all its contents dispersed; and with this dispersal have naturally perished the traditions which commonly survive among the descendants of a great man to keep his memory green.

No fulness of historical research can ever atone for such losses as these, or make it otherwise than difficult to play 'Old Mortality' to an epitaph so hopelessly erased and disfigured. But the gradual publication of the correspondence of contemporary statesmen, the patient investigations of eminent historians, and the abundant labours of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, have brought to light within recent years a very considerable number of Clare's letters, and have placed us in possession of much ampler materials for an estimate of his character and statesmanship than fifty years after his death seemed ever likely to be attainable. It is, therefore, no more than what historical justice demands that the fame of Lord Clare should be redeemed, in the light of this fresh knowledge, from so much of the obloquy which has fallen on it as it proves to have been unmerited. For, fortunate as he was in most things, Clare was not '*felix opportunitate mortis.*' His latter years were spent in an atmosphere of wild passion and angry contention to which even the stormy annals of Irish politics scarcely afford a parallel. Dying prematurely, whilst his unpopularity was at its height, his memory was assailed with almost frantic violence by writers who made the strenuous actions of his austere dictatorship part of their indictment of the policy of his successors in the government of Ireland; and by the baser scribes who were not ashamed to pelt the dead lion before whom they had cowered in the years of his strength. Thus, while those who might have done justice to his character were, through the destruction of his papers, left powerless to shield it from misrepresenta-

tion, the record of the part played by Clare in the history of his country was left to the pens—at best unsympathetic and often ungenerous or vindictive—of frankly hostile writers.

In recent years, however, a fuller knowledge of Clare's career has led to a more just appreciation of his character. Froude, in his 'English in Ireland,' painted, with a few vivid touches of his picturesque brush, the portrait of the statesman, to whose large place in history he was the first to do justice, and whose bold, commanding personality and unswerving devotion to the interests of England struck the imagination of that imperialist historian. Mr. Lecky has given us, in colours less glowing, a conception of Clare's statesmanship, less sympathetic, and, perhaps, more impartial. But in the pages of both historians it has necessarily happened that the figure of Clare has been seen mainly in those harsher attitudes which the statesman's position as the champion of authority and government in times of unexampled agitation obliged him to assume in the latter years of his career. Thus, while justice has been done to Clare's abilities, the impression given of his character has been upon the whole repellent and unlovable. His head has been praised at the expense of his heart, and his statesmanship at that of his humanity. That is a price which few men would willingly pay for posthumous eminence; nor is it fitting that fame should be accompanied by so heavy a penalty unless it is unquestionably deserved.

To account for the peculiar animosity with which Clare came to be regarded by his opponents, it is necessary to recall his origin. His father, John FitzGibbon the elder, was born of Roman Catholic parents in humble circumstances, and sprang from a sept long identified with the county Limerick, and accounted among the most Irish of Irish families in religious and national sentiment. After applying himself to medicine abroad for a time he had conformed to the Protestant faith, and, becoming a student at the Middle Temple, was ultimately called to the Irish bar. There he practised for forty years, with a success which enabled him to realise a fortune, extraordinary in those days, of over 100,000*l*. Although he never attained the Bench his professional eminence was remarkable, and he narrowly missed important promotion. In the brief viceroyalty of Lord Bristol he was designated for the high office of Chief Justice of the King's Bench on an expected vacancy, which, however, did not take place. His station in Parliament was one of

equal consequence, though he was never in office; and in his latter years he was eulogised by Edmund Burke for the independence of his character and the liberality of his views.

To this shrewd, hard-headed, and highly successful old lawyer, who married a lady of good family in the south of Ireland early in his professional career, was born a family of seven children. Of three sons John FitzGibbon was the youngest. He was born probably in Dublin, in 1748, and was brought up at his father's residence at Donnybrook in the neighbourhood of Dublin. It is interesting to note that his rivalry with Henry Grattan dated from boyhood, while the two great antagonists were schoolfellows. In 1763 he matriculated at Trinity College, where, as at school, he came closely into contact with Grattan; and a class distinguished for the number of able men it contained was made remarkable by the keen competition which took place between the two young men, and in which FitzGibbon was usually the victor, though considerably the junior of his rival. Graduating in 1767, little trace of FitzGibbon can be found in the five years which elapsed before his call to the Irish bar in Trinity Term 1772; but from entries in the books at Christ Church it would seem that he graduated at Oxford in 1770.

Statements made by his contemporaries as to the habits of his early days represent FitzGibbon as addicted to a life of pleasure, and giving but little thought to the serious business of life, until the death, in 1776, of his only surviving brother left him the sole heir to the handsome fortune which his father had realised, and opened up glowing possibilities of a great career. These statements cannot be accepted as altogether correct, for it is certain that he applied himself with considerable vigour to the business of his profession from the very commencement. Extracts from his fee-book which have been published show that his earnings even from the first were substantial. The truth probably is that FitzGibbon at that time applied himself with equal vigour to the pursuit of business and pleasure. He is described as having immense powers of endurance, and being equal to the most severe demands upon his energies.

FitzGibbon's earliest efforts at the bar appear to have been made in election petitions, which in his time were often the subject of keen party struggles, when argued in committee of the Irish House of Commons; and in the year 1777 he was successful in no fewer than four petitions.

It was to his aptitude for work of this sort that he owed his first introduction to Parliament. The celebrated Provost Hely-Hutchinson, one of the ablest politicians of his time, had procured in 1776 the return of his son Richard, afterwards Lord Donoughmore, for the University of Dublin, in opposition to the Attorney-General, Philip Tisdal. Strong allegations of undue influence induced the unsuccessful candidate to bring forward a petition, with the conduct of which FitzGibbon was entrusted. After a long struggle Hutchinson was unseated by the committee; but Tisdal dying in the interval, and the successful party being thus left without a candidate, the young barrister was chosen in his place, and on March 28, 1778, was returned to the Irish Parliament to represent the University of Dublin. He was then less than thirty years of age.

From the foregoing brief summary of the circumstances of his early life, it will be seen that FitzGibbon entered Parliament with admirable prospects, and the surest guarantees of political and professional success. Heir to a large fortune, possessed of splendid abilities, a member of a profession which enjoyed immense influence in the Irish House of Commons, and gifted with a considerable degree of oratorical ability, he was plainly marked out for a conspicuous part in the animated scenes that were impending. He had not indeed the splendid rhetorical endowments which enabled Flood and Grattan to carry away the senators in a whirlwind of emotion; but he could speak with force, precision, and perspicacity.

At the moment when FitzGibbon stepped upon the troubled stage of Irish politics, parties in Ireland, never constituted in those days upon any very intelligible principle, were in a state of almost unexampled flux. Little as the Parliament which Grattan was about to found corresponded in its constitutional working with the usages of the English House of Commons, the old dependent Parliament which it replaced was even further removed from the model of English political life. In Ireland the party system was scarcely, if at all, understood. There was, of course, a Government and an Opposition; but the Opposition could never displace the Government, which was an executive machine rather than a political organism. The Lord Lieutenant, indeed, was identified directly with the party and the politics which, for the time being, held sway at Westminster. But though theoretically and constitutionally liable to dismissal at any moment at the hands of the Viceroy, the great officials, and

especially the law officers of the Crown, enjoyed for a long series of years a practical fixity of tenure. The Chancellor was in effect appointed for life, but, being an Englishman, took no very decisive part in struggles which he only half understood, and usually confined himself to the discharge of his functions as Speaker of the Irish House of Lords, and to the exercise of the immense patronage which was vested in him. The Chief Secretary was often non-resident, and sometimes had not even a seat in the Irish Parliament. Thus the chief administrative and political agent was usually the Attorney-General, to whom was confided the management of the House of Commons ; and who often held his post continuously, irrespective of the resignations of Viceroys or of the rise or fall of parties at Westminster, until such time as he chose to retire to the haven of a Chief Justiceship. Opposition was in practice little more than a competition between a few great families for the favour of a Government which could always extricate itself from its parliamentary embarrassments by purchasing whichever of its opponents happened to be the most formidable for the time being.

When FitzGibbon entered the House of Commons he found the Government party unusually feeble, and the various rivals who made up the motley Opposition by which it was confronted proportionately formidable. The death of old Philip Tisdal, who for seventeen years had conducted the business of Government under no fewer than eight Lords Lieutenant, had deprived administration of its most efficient instrument. His successor, John Scott, afterwards Lord Clonmell, though a man of great ability, was much too indolent to fill the post as Tisdal had filled it ; and Lord Buckinghamshire, who had succeeded Earl Harcourt at Dublin Castle in 1777, found himself without any efficient agent in that system of management in which his predecessor had been a past-master. Up to this time FitzGibbon had taken no decided part in politics, though he had acted in general with the Opposition ; the sympathies of his constituency, which had elected as his colleague the eloquent Walter Hussey Burgh, being with the popular party, and his personal friendship with Grattan bringing him in contact mainly with members of the Opposition. When the Volunteers were formed he had himself taken his place as a private in their ranks ; but he had confined his co-operation to the purely defensive military purposes in which that extraordinary corps had originated. He had quitted them the moment they assumed the shape of a party

organisation, and had denounced in Parliament the attempt to turn them to political purposes.

It was his vigorous independence on this occasion that first commended FitzGibbon to the friends of Government as a possible recruit. His connexions had hitherto been mainly with the Opposition, with which his father had usually sided, though in his later years the force of family ties had brought the old lawyer into touch with influences friendly to Government. The wealth he had amassed had enabled the elder FitzGibbon to make considerable alliances for his daughters, one of whom had married a member of the great Beresford family, who subsequently became Archbishop of Tuam, and founded the peerage of Decies. The connexion had an important influence on the prospects of young FitzGibbon by procuring him the friendship of John Beresford. This powerful personage, who for thirty years was on the most intimate footing with successive Viceroy, was not only a member of one of the most distinguished of Irish families, but by his marriage with Barbara Montgomery, one of the bevy of sisters portrayed as the 'Three Graces' in Reynolds's well-known picture, he had become closely connected with Lord Townshend and other influential personages in England. The influence wielded by Beresford, who was described to Lord Fitzwilliam by an influential member of Opposition as 'The King of Ireland,' may be best measured by the single fact that the attempt to dismiss him from his post at the head of the Irish Revenue had much to do with that nobleman's recall in 1795; and the magnificence of his conceptions is still attested by the stately Custom House at Dublin, which was built at his suggestion.

Beresford was the first person connected with Government to discern FitzGibbon's ability. As early as 1779 he had mentioned the young lawyer to Lord Buckinghamshire as a man whose support could be had upon honourable terms, and who would be prepared to take an active part in the debates of the House of Commons if encouraged to do so by the prospect of professional advancement. The Viceroy was at first favourably disposed to the proposal, and commissioned Scott, the Attorney-General, to negotiate with FitzGibbon, who, after consulting with Beresford, agreed to the arrangement. But the young politician characteristically based his consent upon the terms 'that there should be 'a settled plan adopted, and a firm adherence to this plan, 'whatever it was, so that when we had taken a part we might 'not be left alone and betrayed.' The vacillation of Heron,

the Chief Secretary, however, violated these terms on the very first occasion on which the new plan was put to the proof, and FitzGibbon, withdrawing his support, remained in opposition, though in doing so he intimated his readiness to support ministers if they had the courage to undertake a definite and resolute policy. But Lord Buckinghamshire taking offence at the independence he had shown, the negotiation came to an end.

The resignation of Lord Buckinghamshire and the advent of the Carlisle administration had an important influence indirectly on FitzGibbon's future, by procuring him the intimate friendship, which was continued to the close of his life, of William Eden, afterwards the first Lord Auckland, a statesman who, though at that time so far connected with the Whigs as to be included in the ill-starred coalition ministry, was subsequently among the most thoroughgoing of the colleagues of Pitt. To Eden, as the Chief Secretary of a government desiring to enlarge the basis of its connexions in the Irish House of Commons, FitzGibbon was soon introduced by Beresford, and the two men formed a friendship, the beneficial effects of which were more than once felt by the young Irishman on critical occasions in his career. Almost the only intimate letters of Lord Clare which have been preserved, with the exception of a few published in the Beresford correspondence, are to be found among the Auckland Papers. They show that a very warm intercourse was maintained between the two men down to the death of Clare, about whose health during his last illness Auckland displayed an obviously sincere and affectionate solicitude.

In the events which culminated in the legislative independence of the Irish Parliament, FitzGibbon took only a very subordinate part, and though he concurred generally in the measures which led up to that concession, his approval seems to have gone little further than a passive and scarcely convinced acquiescence in the wishes of his constituents. In 1780 he declined to support Grattan's Declaration of Right. In language which curiously anticipates some of the arguments used twenty years later in his masterly speech on the Union, he reminded the House of Commons that they could not disavow the authority of British statutes without shaking the security upon which the title to vast numbers of Irish estates depended. And he indicated that contempt for popular clamour and dislike of agitation which marked every stage of his subsequent career by declining 'to be

‘terrified by an armed people crowding to the bar.’ But though it is pretty evident that his support would not have been withheld from a firm opposition to the demands of the Volunteers, FitzGibbon was too prudent to wreck his career by exhibiting an irreconcilable hostility to the popular demand in the face of the resolution of the English Government to concede it. Accordingly, when called on by his constituents in 1782 to vote for Grattan’s Declaration, he frankly yielded his opinion to theirs, while avowing his ‘decided conviction’ that it was ‘a measure of dangerous tendency, and withal inadequate to the purpose for which it is intended.’ And he added his hope that a total repeal of Poyning’s Law would not be pressed by his constituents.

But, though thus acquiescing in the demands of his constituents, it is certain that FitzGibbon never caught the contagion of the popular enthusiasm which swayed Grattan and his friends. At the elections of 1783 his imperfect sympathy with the national aspirations cost him his seat for the University. But he still retained the friendship and confidence of Grattan and his principal associates; and it was with their full concurrence that FitzGibbon was in the autumn of that year designated as Attorney-General. It is, indeed, not a little strange that a statesman who is best remembered for the vehemence of his opposition to Irish popular demands, who was for seventeen years the colleague of Pitt and the principal instrument of his Irish policy, and who more than any other individual contributed to the destruction of the Grattan Parliament, was first appointed to office by the Viceroy of a ministry of which Fox was the head and Burke a subordinate member, and in response to the urgent representations of Grattan. It was the influence of the latter, coupled with the recommendations strenuously pressed by Lord Auckland, that won the prize for FitzGibbon, who thus found himself elevated to the highest office in his profession at the early age of thirty-six.

Even the most careful of historians have fallen into the error of representing Clare as having been, through the whole of his official career, in violent antagonism with the popular party. But this view is entirely erroneous. FitzGibbon’s first years in Parliament were passed, as we have seen, in opposition, and, though he had hesitated before approving it, his acceptance of the Constitution of 1782 was frank and unreserved. With the Opposition leaders he remained for many years on a friendly and even

cordial footing. In the letter to his constituents of Dublin University, already referred to, he had explicitly stated his opinion that 'the claims of the British Parliament to make laws for this country is a daring usurpation of the rights of a free people,' and that he had uniformly asserted this opinion in public and private. There does not seem to be any ground for questioning the sincerity of this declaration, nor is it indeed in any sense incompatible with his subsequent advocacy of a union, when the united Irish movement threatened the dissolution of the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland—a connexion he had always asserted to be indispensable, and his jealousy for which had even led him, as we have already seen, to deprecate the total repeal of Poyning's Law. Long prior to the Union, and before that measure had been thought of, he stated, in the debates on the Regency Question, the view of the connexion with Great Britain which he seems to have steadily held throughout his career: 'The only security for your liberty is your connexion with Great Britain, and gentlemen who risk breaking the connexion must make up their minds to a union. God forbid I should ever see that day! but if ever the day on which a separation shall be attempted may come, I shall not hesitate to embrace a union rather than a separation.' Within four years of this utterance the Franchise Act of 1793 and the proceedings of the United Irishmen had brought the dreaded day within measurable distance, and thenceforward, as he avowed in 1800, Clare never hesitated as to the expedient which policy rather than inclination must compel him to embrace.

The personal intimacy with Grattan continued unbroken down to 1790, and was then dissolved rather through Grattan's vehemence than FitzGibbon's acerbity. Grattan's sudden leap to fame in 1782, so far from rousing the envy, seems to have attracted the genuine admiration of his quondam comrade. Nor does this feeling appear to have been alienated by the early encounters which necessarily took place on the floor of the House of Commons in the skirmishes between Government and Opposition. In the course of an animated reprobation of the violences of the Volunteers, after that body had passed under the control of Flood, Charlemont, and Lord Bristol, FitzGibbon took occasion to pay an eloquent tribute to the patriotic services of his old friend, whom he eulogised as 'the man whose wisdom and virtues had directed the happy circumstances of the times and the spirit of Irishmen to make us a

‘nation.’ Clare’s character has been nowhere more acrimoniously condemned than in the Life of Grattan, by his son; yet the author of that work expressly states that, as late as 1790, and notwithstanding the heated struggles over the Regency Bill of 1789, the two statesmen were on good terms, and that their friendship was first broken by the violence of a pamphlet written by Grattan, in the course of which he used expressions which, as even the biographer of the latter admits, ‘it was not kind of him, in a personal ‘point of view,’ to make use of.

FitzGibbon’s promotion *per saltum* to the Attorney-Generalship, without serving in the subordinate office of Solicitor-General, took place at a moment of singular anxiety to the Irish Government, and, indeed, the urgency of securing the services of a really strong man had much to do with Lord Northington’s final choice in the selection of a law officer. The Volunteer movement had revived in a very dangerous form, and in the hands of Flood and Lord Bristol was being made the instrument of a demand for parliamentary reform which not only went far beyond what Fox in England or Grattan in Ireland deemed either safe or expedient, but was an actual menace to the stability of the British connexion. On the introduction of Flood’s Reform Bill all parties had concurred in rejecting proposals brought in with all the unconstitutional menace of an armed assembly, and Government took the strong course of refusing leave to bring in the Bill. FitzGibbon, who had already been designated as Attorney-General, spoke on this occasion with great vigour, and, according to Northington’s report to Fox, ‘acquitted himself astonishingly.’ His actual appointment followed almost immediately; but upon the very day on which his patent was made out the ministry of Fox and Lord North was abruptly terminated, and Lord Northington was shortly succeeded by Pitt’s intimate friend, the fourth Duke of Rutland.

His tenure of the Attorney-Generalship, which he held for close on six years, though not the period of his greatest power, was probably the happiest portion of FitzGibbon’s career. He entered upon his official functions in the prime of life. Possessing the fullest confidence of his superiors, and without a rival on the ministerial benches in the House of Commons, he speedily became the first Irishman in the country and the chief inspiration of all the acts of the executive. Nor, as we have seen, was his enjoyment of the dignity and authority of his responsible position at this

time marred by that hostility on the part of his political opponents which was so marked in the later stages of his career. His vigorous action in stifling the Reform agitation sought to be revived in the autumn of 1784, by dissolving, through the direct exertion of his personal intervention, the meeting called by the sheriffs of Dublin, was approved by Grattan and the Whigs almost as cordially as it was endorsed by the Government; and, although in the warmth of debate his characteristic petulance sometimes involved him in altercations with individual opponents, he preserved for the most part the friendliest relations with the principal members of the Opposition.

With Curran, indeed, though the intercourse of the two men had been friendly enough at the bar, the heat of controversy soon developed a serious quarrel. Various accounts have been given of the encounter. Probably the most reliable is that furnished by Woodfall, the eminent parliamentary reporter, who, in a letter to Eden describing the famous debate on the commercial resolutions, while acknowledging the extent of the provocation offered by Curran, censured in strong terms FitzGibbon's want of command over his temper. Eden appears to have remonstrated with his friend in a friendly spirit. FitzGibbon excused his violence on the plea that he had been accused of a lack of personal courage, and was thus driven to fight the duel. The two men were never afterwards upon terms of friendship. Curran asserted that in later years the Chancellor visited upon the lawyer the offences of the politician, and evinced his dislike to an extent which prevented Curran from practising in his court. This is probably true; but it is true also that the insults which Curran's impetuosity led him to address to the Chancellor passed all the bounds of forensic decency, and were such as no modern judge would tolerate for an instant.

FitzGibbon at this period does not seem to have dreamt of the eminence to which he was to attain within a very few years. He had no ambition for any judicial honours short of the Chief Justiceship of Ireland, and the Chancellorship was apparently placed beyond his reach by the maxim of Government which had obtained during a long succession of years, and to which Pitt was inclined to adhere—that no Irishman should be allowed to hold the Seals. Early in 1786 he expressed, in a letter to Eden on the occasion of an anticipated vacancy in the Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas, his desire to remain Attorney-General, 'not feeling any

‘inclination, as yet, to become an old woman,’ although a few months later a possible opening in the higher office of Chief Justice of the King’s Bench tempted him to convey to the Duke of Rutland his wish for that position. The Viceroy would have been greatly embarrassed by the change, and said as much in a letter to Orde, adding that in his opinion it would be for the interest of the Government that FitzGibbon should be Chancellor upon any vacancy in that office. ‘I should feel it very unpleasant,’ he told the Chief Secretary, ‘to see him superseded by an English Chancellor, and I sincerely hope that there is no probability of any event to open that situation till the objection of his too much youth could be done away with.’ Orde concurred in the high opinion entertained by the Viceroy of FitzGibbon’s merit, suggesting that in the event of a premature vacancy a stopgap Chancellor might be provided from England, with an assurance of the succession to the Attorney-General. But this would not satisfy FitzGibbon’s viceregal champion, who at once replied, ‘I cannot consent to see FitzGibbon’s objects superseded, or even put backward.’ And the Viceroy’s final words on the subject, in conveying his refusal to ask Lord Lifford to resign, with the object above mentioned, were, ‘I cannot sacrifice FitzGibbon. He deserves all I can give him, and I shall fling every obstacle in the way of any arrangement which is to preclude him.’

The sudden death of the Duke of Rutland, in the autumn of 1787, deprived FitzGibbon of a friend, whose loss, had the Attorney-General been a weaker man, might have seriously affected his prospects, for the Duke had a weight with Pitt which his successor, Lord Buckingham, never possessed. But the new Viceroy was quickly impressed with the capacity of the Attorney-General, and soon learned to rely upon FitzGibbon as absolutely as his predecessor had done. And although Buckingham came to Ireland strongly possessed with the notion of the ineligibility of an Irishman for the Chancellorship, and had stated this view strongly to Pitt, in a letter written prior to his appointment, he had not been six months in Ireland before he had not only pledged himself to support FitzGibbon’s claims, if an Irishman should be selected, but had expressed to William Grenville the opinion that, however strong the abstract arguments in favour of an English Chancellor, the time had gone by when FitzGibbon’s claims could be successfully opposed. In a few words, the Viceroy painted a striking picture of his masterful subordinate—‘His intre-

‘pidity, his influence and weight, have, in fact, placed him at the head of the country. *We all fear him*; and on all occasions I have found him fair, manly, and to be trusted.’

Lord Lifford’s retirement was at this time believed to be imminent, and, in point of fact, the old Chancellor was only postponing resignation until he should have negotiated favourable terms, in the shape of a pension for himself and of a bishopric for his son. In the autumn of 1788 he definitely expressed to Lord Buckingham his desire to retire, and FitzGibbon had thereupon betaken himself to London, where he had received from Pitt himself an undertaking that no appointment should be made without giving him a fair opportunity of stating his claims, and had met, at the hands of the English Chancellor, Lord Thurlow, a reception so flattering as led him to believe that he would meet with no opposition in that quarter, though this impression was subsequently proved to be erroneous. Amongst other well-wishers and backers of his candidature was Earl Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley, whose intimacy with Pitt made his support of much consequence. The Attorney-General had recently placed Mornington under a considerable obligation, and the Earl conveyed, through Grenville, his hope that his friend’s application would meet with no inconsiderate refusal. Mornington was identified in the main at this period, as in later life, with the popular party in Ireland; and the approval of FitzGibbon’s candidature by one who looked on Grattan as ‘the first of all men in ability and virtue,’ is an additional proof that, down to his elevation to the Chancellorship, Clare had not alienated the regard of the Opposition, in spite of the unsparing and caustic language with which he assailed his opponents and enforced his opinions. The Opposition view of him during his Attorney-Generalship was, indeed, felicitously expressed in a speech of Grattan’s, in which personal goodwill has still the upper hand of political hostility—‘What has fallen from the right honourable member,’ he said, ‘is a proof that a certain asperity is not inconsistent with an excellent head and a very good heart.’

The strong pressure exerted by the Viceroy and others of FitzGibbon’s friends ultimately prevailed with Pitt, though the Premier evaded the necessity of definitely deciding by requesting Lord Lifford to remain in his post, which the old lawyer retained until his death a year later. By that time FitzGibbon’s staunch support of Pitt and Buck-

ingham on the Regency Question had made it impossible to put any other candidate in competition with him for the Seals. The Viceroy's gratitude knew no bounds, and in letter after letter he testified to his sense of his lieutenant's services. 'FitzGibbon,' he wrote, 'has assisted me in all these anxious moments with an exertion, zeal, and even personal risk, beyond any line of common attachment. . . . I cannot conceive any possibility of putting by such pretensions.' In another letter he testified to 'the faculties, integrity, and situation which enable him to do more for English government than all Westminster Hall put together.'

The chief opposition to Clare's ambition had proceeded from Lord Thurlow, the Chancellor, who, supported by his predecessor, the old Lord Camden, still held out against the appointment of an Irishman, and suggested every possible alternative. But Buckingham was resolute. He told Pitt, in plain terms, that FitzGibbon would not remain in office if he were insulted by being passed over for any of the unknown men put forward by the English Chancellor, and that he himself would not remain in Ireland without FitzGibbon. He protested against Thurlow deciding the matter from the point of view of the law only, pointing out that a strong man who knew Ireland had become indispensable as Speaker of the House of Lords, and meeting Thurlow's objection that FitzGibbon was unpopular in Ireland with the statement that it was 'absolute nonsense.' Ultimately Thurlow's opposition was removed, through the instrumentality of Hobart, the Irish Secretary, whom the Lord Lieutenant sent over to tell Pitt, in so many words, that, if FitzGibbon were not appointed, neither he nor any other member of the Irish Government would remain in office. Hobart was sent by Pitt to the Chancellor, who, according to the emissary, stormed and roared; but when he found the ministers firm, gave way, saying, 'If Mr. Pitt will appoint an Irishman Chancellor, Mr. FitzGibbon is the best man he could select.'

The appointment was received in Ireland with a cordiality which is of itself sufficient to prove that no part of the unpopularity which marked his declining years had yet been provoked by FitzGibbon. Strange as it now appears in the light of the new Chancellor's subsequent career, no more popular appointment was ever made in Ireland. The surrender by the English Government of the old prejudice which had prevented successive ministries from entrusting the Great Seal of Ireland to a native of the country, was

viewed by all parties as a national triumph, and not least so by the Opposition. Even in the heat of the struggle over the regency, in which he had stood alone against an unprecedented combination, the normal strength of the opponents of Government being increased by the numerous Trimmers who were ready to worship what they imagined to be the rising sun, FitzGibbon had avoided giving personal offence to the leaders of the Opposition. And when the recovery of the king made it necessary for them to make their peace with the Government they had defied, it was through FitzGibbon that the negotiations were opened.

Nor were the lively expectations formed of FitzGibbon's capacity and fitness for the great post to which he had thus early attained, in anywise disappointed in the early years of his Chancellorship. In the discharge of the purely legal part of his functions he gave entire satisfaction. Displaying the utmost assiduity and attention to his business, he disposed of the causes which came before him with a promptitude which gratified the litigants and a judicial acumen which commanded the respect of the legal profession. Of those who have condemned him as a violent bigot and prejudiced partisan, prone to support authority and privilege against popular rights irrespective of the dictates of justice, few, if any, have ever been at the pains to inquire how far this character tallies with what is recorded of Clare's judicial career. Yet an examination of his reported judgements, many of which are extant in the pages of Ridgway's 'House of Lords Reports,' and elsewhere, abundantly proves, not only the strength of his legal intellect, but the breadth and liberality which constantly led him to take the most generous, most humane, and most tolerant view open to him. A candid perusal of his judicial remains presents indisputably the figure of a powerful judge who, but for the engrossing political pre-occupations of his latter years, would have been a very great one. And in the two great causes of disunion which have divided Irishmen, the divisions between landlord and tenant, between Protestant and Catholic, Clare's decisions will be found to lean as far as the law permitted to the liberal and popular side.

In the judgements which survive Clare displays in a striking and even unusual degree, sincere and deep reverence for the great luminaries of English jurisprudence who went before him, coupled with the boldest independence towards their dogmas, when these appeared to him to be unsupported by principle. In all is manifest that first and

last of judicial characteristics—a strong will to do justice according to the merits of the case before him. Clare had that immense advantage to an equity judge, a complete practical grounding in the Common Law, and his mind was amply stored from the great treasuries of our traditional law. His capacity for work was immense, and his judgements are as conscientious and thorough in their elucidation of the facts as they are clear and courageous in their application of the law. In Clare's time causes, ere they reached the Lords, had usually to be carried through well-nigh impassable bogs of litigation. Through these his luminous judgements follow the facts step by step, never failing to find sure ground for his tread. He is never content, as some strong judges are, to decide upon one or two salient points, putting the rest aside, nor, as lazy or timid judges are sometimes known to be, is he satisfied to ride off upon some technicality, whereby he may evade the trouble and responsibility of a complete and courageous judgement. Yet this laborious industry is never the result of incapacity to grasp the relative importance of the difficulties involved in the facts; for he never falters in the masterful confidence of his opinion. As little was it due to any love of the mazes of the law, for Clare had a horror quite before his time of the harrowing protractedness and expense of litigation, which, indeed, he never failed to denounce and counteract as far as in him lay. The sarcastic, and sometimes fierce animadversions which often occur in his judgements upon the flagitious prolonging of litigation, his unstinted denunciation of those cumbrous evasions of the old Chancery procedure which made the law's delay a bye-word, not merely evince a healthy sympathy with justice, but give warrant for believing that, had he lived to the less fevered times which followed the Union, the name of Lord Clare would have stood high on the roll of law reformers; that many of the changes delayed for more than a generation after he had passed away would have been inaugurated through his influence at the opening of the century; and that the scandals typified in *Jarndyce and Jarndyce* would never have survived long enough to leave it to the author of 'Bleak House' to be a main factor in the reformation of the Court of Chancery.

The break up of FitzGibbon's friendly relations with his old friends of the Whig Opposition dates from the formation, in 1789, of the Whig Club. One of the first acts of this body was to attack the Chancellor, who, in a dispute about the

election to the Mayoralty of Dublin, had espoused the cause of the Corporation as against the popular wishes, and had, as the President of the Privy Council, delivered a decision which Charlemont described as 'by far the worst of all the wicked transactions he had known.' The Club having met and passed a series of resolutions on the subject, Fitz-Gibbon took occasion, in his place in the House of Lords, to express in the most candid terms his opinion of the Club and its members. He denounced them with his customary virulence of language, as persons of the grossest ignorance who, by their late resolution on behalf of the rights of the subject, had discovered 'as great a perversion of sense as ever distracted the human brain,' and did not scruple to describe a body which numbered among its roll such magnates as the Duke of Leinster and Lord Charlemont as 'a horde of miscreant traitors professing peace but practising corruption.' Grattan replied in a pamphlet which contained references to the Chancellor so galling as to terminate their acquaintance, and except for such formal intercourse as must have taken place at the meetings of Privy Council attended by Grattan during Fitzwilliam's viceroyalty, the two men never spoke again.

Thenceforward the story of Clare's career is the story of that stormiest decade in Irish history which, after witnessing the rise and fall of the United Irishmen and the horrors of a civil war, was to terminate in the Union which Clare did more than any single individual to accomplish. From the first beginnings of the United Irish agitation Clare set himself resolutely to fight it. He was at no time under any illusion as to the dangerous possibilities which lurked beneath the surface of Irish society, and, knowing his country and his countrymen, he had discerned the dangers which threatened in the encouragement given by the pranks of a factious Opposition to the latent disaffection which he knew existed among the people. Writing to Eden within a few months of the excitement over the regency, he laid his finger on the root of the evil: 'I hope that the gentlemen who are in opposition in Great Britain will learn, before it is too late, the danger of playing their game in this country. If they do not agree with their antagonists in anything else they must learn to agree in supporting the King's Government in Ireland, else, perhaps they may, before they are aware of it, have this country a stake to fight for with a foreign enemy.' The resignation of Lord Buckingham, who had taken an active and direct part in the

business of administration, by placing the nominal direction of affairs in the hands of a nobleman with no previous experience of Ireland, greatly strengthened FitzGibbon's already great authority, and for the next ten years it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the powers of the Irish Government were concentrated in the Chancellor.

We have traced Clare's career from its commencement to the zenith of his power, but we lack space to follow it through the last and most stirring chapter of his contentious life. To do so would be to write the history of the United Irish movement, of the Rebellion, and of the Union. Clare's large share in the great transactions of that epoch has been clearly outlined in the 'English in Ireland,' and in the 'History of England in the Eighteenth Century.' But we must not omit to notice some incidents, not elsewhere enlarged upon, in his personal relations with the leaders of the revolutionary agitation, and his conduct of the struggle against them, which not only illustrate Clare's character and illuminate his policy, but are in themselves of much personal and political interest.

There is, perhaps, no personal episode connected with the struggle between the Government and the United Irishmen more interesting than the relations which existed between FitzGibbon and Wolfe Tone—the animating spirits of the two parties. If Tone was the mainspring of the revolutionary agitation, FitzGibbon was at least in equal degree the master mind which controlled the forces directed to its overthrow. Each recognised in the other a foeman worthy of his steel. Referring, in his journal for March 1798, to the speech delivered by Clare in answer to Lord Moira's arraignment of the Irish Government, in which the Chancellor referred to Tone by name, the latter frankly expresses his admiration of the uncompromising vigour with which his enemy carried on the warfare between them. 'I can hardly, I think, be suspected of partiality to the Chancellor, but I declare I have a greater respect for his conduct on this occasion than for that of Lord Moira. He is, at least, an open and avowed enemy; he takes his party, such as it is, like a man who expects no quarter, and is therefore determined to give none.'

The two men had long known each other, and had even had opportunities of intimacy; for though Tone was by fifteen years the junior of FitzGibbon, they must have been thrown together by a family connexion which existed between FitzGibbon's family and that of Mrs. Tone. With the latter

Tone himself resided at their house in Grafton Street, at which FitzGibbon was a visitor; and through their common relatives the two men probably learned a good deal of each other's character, even if they did not often meet. But these opportunities did not lead to any friendship; there was no mutual attraction, though FitzGibbon, who was admittedly a firm friend to all who had claims upon him, would probably have been willing to befriend the husband of his young connexion, who had not at that time disqualified himself for ministerial patronage. But as Tone was, to use his own words, 'one of the most ignorant barristers at the Four Courts, and took little or rather no pains to conceal his contempt and dislike of his profession,' it could not have been an easy matter, even for the omnipotence of an eighteenth-century Chancellor's patronage, to do much to advance his interests. And within a brief space Tone had so acted as to destroy any inclination which FitzGibbon might have felt to help the young adventurer. He quarrelled with his wife's family, and he took to writing pamphlets for the Whig Club. Thenceforward the hostility between the two men was inveterate and relentless. Tone's son, in the preface to the Washington edition of his father's Life, says that he scarcely had a personal enemy, with the two curious exceptions of FitzGibbon and George Ponsonby, names which were probably never bracketed together in any other connexion; yet, violently as the Chancellor denounced Tone's treasonable proceedings, it is not unlikely that it was due in part to his kinship with Mrs. Tone that the young conspirator was allowed to leave the country in 1795 without being subjected to a prosecution on the occasion of his being compromised with Jackson in the mission which cost the latter his life. The transactions which took place upon that occasion are detailed with great minuteness in the letters of Marcus Beresford, who was the agent in the negotiations between Tone and the Government which ended in Tone's compromise with the latter on his undertaking to go into voluntary exile; and the account there given of the negotiations agrees with the narrative in Tone's Life. Beresford, who was the son of John Beresford, FitzGibbon's intimate friend, and had lately been appointed to an official position under the new Chancellor, was on terms of intimacy with Tone, who was on his circuit at the bar, and for whom he had a warm regard. It was primarily to the friendship of Marcus Beresford that Tone owed his escape, scot-free, in the perils of 1794; but even that

friendship could not have availed him had the Chancellor been unwilling to acquiesce in his escape.

The unfavourable impressions of his young acquaintance, formed in the Chancellor's mind in the course of their private intercourse, were soon confirmed and deepened by what his position at the head of the Government soon enabled him to learn of Tone's part in the United Irish movement. A letter, addressed to Tone's friend and colleague in the United Irish conspiracy, in which he avowed his decided wish for separation, fell into the hands of the Government, and fully revealed the secret aims of the men who were behind the Unity movement of 1791. Thenceforward Clare never ceased to point to Tone as the origin and pivot of the treasonable conspiracy of the United Irishmen, a view of his consequence which the statement confided to Beresford on the condition of his being let leave the country by Tone in 1794 abundantly confirmed. This statement, which was made by Tone only upon the express condition that no use should be made of it to the prejudice of any of the persons referred to in it, except for the purpose of preventing a renewal of treasonable practices on the part of those already implicated, only came to the hands of Lord Clare in 1797, after Beresford's death, and was destroyed with the rest of Clare's papers in 1802. No public use was ever made of it, though its existence was referred to in Clare's speech on the state of Ireland in the House of Lords in 1801; but there is a reference to it in a very curious letter written by Thomas Emmet to Russell after the capture and before the death of Tone in the autumn of 1798. In this letter, which was written in response to an appeal by Russell to Emmet and the other State prisoners to exert themselves in Tone's behalf, Emmet, while averring that 'it is impossible for anyone to be more concerned or more anxious than we all are about the fate of Tone,' excuses himself from interfering on the ground that intervention would injure rather than serve his friend, and assigns as the main ground of the futility of any efforts, the fact that 'the day we were at the Castle the Chancellor mentioned that Tone had, before he left the kingdom, signed such a confession of his own treason as would and was intended to hang him in case of his ever returning.' It is impossible to doubt that Emmet, whom Tone in his autobiography brackets with Russell, as the first of his friends, would have risked his own life could he have done so to any purpose in behalf of his unfortunate comrade in treason. But there

can be no doubt Emmet was right as to the hopelessness of any attempt to save Tone. Public opinion would not have tolerated it, and whatever forbearance FitzGibbon might have been willing to exhibit in 1794, had ceased to influence him in 1798. Though he censured the irregularity of the court-martial by which Tone was condemned, he wrote with pitiless unconcern of the end of his old acquaintance. 'Nothing could be so preposterous as the whole proceedings with respect to Tone; he should certainly have been hanged on the shore where he landed.'

The fixed hostility to Catholic Emancipation which Clare manifested at every stage in his career, and which led him to oppose not merely every measure directly designed to that end, but every enactment which seemed to tend in its direction, is the cardinal principle in his system of policy. And, however much a later age may deplore his views, it is impossible not to respect the consistency with which, from beginning to end of his career, he maintained the doctrine that Protestant ascendancy in Ireland is essential to the connexion between the two kingdoms. It is easy, nowadays, to condemn a principle which has been repudiated by the State for more than two generations; but it is only fair to remember that Clare did no more than give expression with frankness and candour, if with needless acerbity, to principles of government which no one, in his time, affected to disclaim. The unalterably Protestant character of the constitution in Church and State was in those days an axiom of Government which no serious politician ever dreamt of challenging; and it remained one for years after Clare's death. Indeed, the main burthen of the speeches in favour of each successive relaxation of the penal laws was to prove that the security of Protestantism would remain as strong as before. Clare did not push his principles a jot further than they were pressed as late as 1817 in that remarkable speech against Catholic claims which made the ultimate author of Emancipation the darling of the unbending champions of Protestant ascendancy.

But in one respect Clare pushed his view of the inviolable Protestantism of the British Constitution, as established at the Revolution, beyond that of most of his contemporaries. Mr. Lecky, in his account of the regency debates in the Irish Parliament, has observed upon the admirable subtlety of the speeches delivered on the legal aspects of the question by FitzGibbon, whom he elsewhere styles a consummate constitutional lawyer. It is not a little curious that to this

subtlety was due the forging of the weapon which destroyed the hopes of Catholic Emancipation in the year following the Union, and caused the retirement of Pitt from office. In 1795, when, under the viceroyalty of Fitzwilliam, Grattan was about to bring in his bill for the further relief of the Catholics, Clare had embodied his views on the constitutional effects of the measure in a memorandum which was shown to the king by Lord Westmorland, Fitzwilliam's predecessor in the viceroyalty and the intimate ally of Clare. In this document he raised for the first time the question whether the king could give his assent to the repeal of any of the laws affecting Irish Catholics without violating his coronation oath, and affirmed that the English Chancellor who should affix the seal of England to any such repealing measure would stake his head upon the experiment. It does not appear how far this suggestion, which undoubtedly reached the king, took hold at the time of the royal mind, and it was repudiated by the English lawyers to whom it was referred. But it is certain that the negotiations between Clare and the sovereign gave great annoyance to the Duke of Portland and the Whig members of the Cabinet; and we have always considered that Fox was right when he said that the Catholic Bill, and not the question of the dismissal of the officials at Dublin Castle, was the true cause of Fitzwilliam's recall. But, however this may have been, it is unquestionable that Clare's views were adopted in their entirety in 1800 by the party in the Cabinet which was hostile to Emancipation, and of which his intimate friend, Lord Auckland, was a leading spirit. As early as October, 1800, the king was shown a letter or memorandum from the Irish Chancellor which was probably identical in reasoning, if not in language, with the views suggested by Clare in 1795. This document, which is printed in Campbell's 'Lives of the Chancellors,' having been found in the Rosslyn Papers, has been attributed by the author of that work to Lord Loughborough; but from the fact that it coincides in its *ipsissima verba* with Clare's argument in 1795, it is impossible to question its real authorship. Through his friendship with Auckland, who was brother-in-law to Moore, the English primate, Clare was able to reinforce the legal argument on the coronation oath by a spiritual appeal to the king's conscience; and Fox's statement in a letter to a correspondent discussing the Cabinet crisis in February 1801, that 'FitzGibbon and the bishops 'have pushed the king to resist Pitt in this instance,' seems

to have been no exaggeration of the facts of the case. The incident, however lamentable in its results, is certainly an astonishing proof of the influence which Clare was able to exert.

Clare is commonly represented as having died bitterly lamenting the part he had taken in bringing about a Union which diminished his influence and abridged his powers. But the statement is a great exaggeration of the facts. Undoubtedly he resented, and that bitterly, the deception which he considered had been practised on him by Cornwallis and Castlereagh in concealing from him the pledges made to the Roman Catholic leaders on the passing of the Union; and perhaps the fiasco of 1801 might have been avoided had those statesmen treated their eminent colleague with the candour and confidence he had a right to expect. But the incident just referred to sufficiently proves that, if Clare's powers in Ireland were impaired, his influence in the highest quarters remained as potent as ever. Jonah Barrington says that 'the Union effected, through his 'friends, what Ireland could never accomplish through his 'enemies—his total overthrow;' and later writers have adopted the statement. But this is a great exaggeration. It is true, indeed, that he was on bad terms with Abbot, the Chief Secretary, whose prim and clerklike mode of doing business, and somewhat exaggerated notion of the importance of his office, was distasteful to the masterful methods of one long used to unquestioned and uncontrolled authority. The two men never liked each other from the first; and on Clare's death Abbot wrote with the pettiness of a petty mind that Clare had conducted himself impertinently towards him by his letters and language to other people, and that his death delivered the Irish and also the British Government from great trouble. Clare had undoubtedly complained bitterly, and with his accustomed outspokenness, to his friends in the Cabinet of the conduct of the Chief Secretary, and there could be little doubt that, had he lived, he would have made a determined struggle to recover his old ascendancy. In a memorandum drawn up by Abbot in January 1802, within a few weeks of Clare's death, containing the heads of matters to be discussed with the Premier relative to Ireland, one of the topics is stated to be whether the Irish Government should be conducted by a Lord Lieutenant or by Lords Justices, and Clare is represented as hostile to any government by a Lord Lieutenant, and desirous himself to be Lord Deputy or at the head of Lords Justices.

That Clare, with his immense ability, his unequalled knowledge of Ireland, and his resolute determination to be at the head of affairs, would have regained under the weak Cabinet of Addington most, if not all, of the authority he had so long enjoyed under Pitt, there seems little room for doubt. But his health was broken and his race was run. His bodily vigour had been declining for a year or two, and an accident which he met with while riding had given a serious shock to his constitution. At the close of the Michaelmas sittings of 1801 he had proceeded to his country seat at Mount Shannon, where, though ill, he had been able to attend to necessary business. But on January 13 he was obliged to address an application to the Viceroy for leave to go to England for the recovery of his health. He had been attacked by a violent bleeding of the nose, which had reduced him to a state of extreme weakness, and the physicians considered there was water on his chest. A few days later he came up to Dublin. But in his weakened condition the exertion of travelling was fatal, and shortly after reaching the capital he expired. He displayed in his last hours and in the presence of death the same fortitude and presence of mind which he had preserved in every emergency of his career, summoning Lord Kilwarden and the other chief judges to his bedside, and himself administering the oaths investing them under a commission with the custody of the Great Seal.

The necessary limits of a review article have permitted us to do no more than draw attention to some facts of Clare's life and some aspects of his statesmanship which have not been much noticed by writers who have dealt only incidentally with his career. We have left ourselves no space to devote to those traits in his private character which attest his high qualities as a man. Even his severest critics have borne witness to the warmth of his affections, the strength of his friendship, his consideration for his inferiors and dependents, and his unfailing recognition of the duties of property. Of this last trait, and of that practical patriotism it denotes, there is a striking illustration in his will—a document that throws a strong light upon his character, and of which the more personal passages have been printed by Lord Ashbourne in the chapter devoted to Lord Clare in his interesting book on Pitt—which concludes with a warm recommendation to his sons 'to make the 'country which gave them birth the place of their general 'residence.' But these qualities he hid with a cold reticence

from the world. Though in early life fond of society, he grew in latter years, and as he became absorbed in affairs, reserved and cold. That he was sincere in his religious beliefs appears from his will, though it is to be feared he found it difficult to obey the injunction to forgive his enemies. But so morbid was his dislike of any display of religion that he would repair to a remote village church when he desired to partake of the Holy Communion.

We are no friends to the whitewashing school of history. We know that when all is said and done the most diligent research can never be worth half so much for the interpretation of character as the clear evidence of contemporary reputation. It is a libel upon history to say that it is no better than an old almanac, but it is undeniable that it is never so likely to be true as an old diary. To set up the incomplete records of the past against the incontrovertible testimony of authentic tradition is often the shallowest pedantry. No apologies can remove the stain of falsity from Charles I. or the vice of cruelty from Henry VIII., and in the main posterity must accept the findings of contemporaries on questions of character. That Lord Clare was unconciliatory in manner and uncompromising in method; that he was the inveterate foe of Catholic Emancipation at a time when, as is plain to us wiseacres of a century later, Emancipation could have been granted with the fairest possibilities of success; and that these traits and opinions earned him the cordial hatred of his immediate opponents in the first instance, and of the mass of his countrymen in the second; that he would have been both a wiser and a more successful statesman had he been able to restrain the irritating arrogance of demeanour which enraged his opponents and the irritable petulance of temper which embarrassed his friends; these things cannot be gainsaid, nor can it be denied that they detract from the credit of the statesman and the character of the man. But if a faithful study of Clare's career reveals what the most malevolent of his contemporaries never ventured to deny, warmth of friendship, loyalty to colleagues, benevolence to dependents, generosity to fallen foes, and an honest devotion to his country according to his view of her real interests, then it is not fitting that history should depict him with the lineaments of an unfeeling despot, for ever surveying the people from whom he sprang and whom he rose to rule with the sneer of an upstart and the scowl of a tyrant.

We deplored at the outset the fact that no contemporary

pen attempted to provide such a biography of Clare as would have left to posterity a just conception of his character, and would have served to correct many of those false views of the events with which his name is connected which so long enjoyed an unchecked currency. But we have been fortunate enough to light upon an appreciation of his character which, written within a fortnight of the Chancellor's death, conveys a summary of Clare's qualities which seems to us to accord in the most striking manner with the impressions which our study of his career has suggested. In a letter written on hearing of Clare's death, and preserved among the Pelham Papers at the British Museum, the first Lord Stanley of Alderley drew a portrait, which agrees so perfectly with the estimate we had formed both of the man and of the minister, as tempts us to adopt it as our own :—

“ So Lord Clare is gone at last. I am not one of the men who at the moment of death deal out panegyrics on the deceased as a thing of course. But of Lord Clare I am tempted to say I thought him a great statesman. He was not one to amalgamate well with others. High-minded, confident, harsh, often governed by his own view of politics only, he was a man to be wondered at more than to be loved in his station, and few of those near him would feel inclined to value him as he deserved. But when brought to a fair judgement, the right estimation of him could not be refused. He was the man amongst all his countrymen the most suited to his time. Perhaps the time is past when his character was of the kind to be most beneficial, and that in the feeling of gratitude, as we look back and compare the past and present, we may be authorised to sink some portion of our regret. But had Lord Clare never existed I do believe the rebels would have been the masters in a great part of Ireland, and that the Union would not for years to come have taken place. No man ever saw through the mist of a political atmosphere more clearly than he did what the real situation of his country required; and when he saw danger he could look at it with an eagle's eye. We Englishmen ought the more particularly to value him, for he was our steadiest friend.”

- ART. V.—1. *Cyprian: his Life, his Times, his Work.* By E. W. BENSON, D.D., D.C.L. London: 1897.
2. *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.* By W. SMITH. London: 1875.
3. *Monumental Christianity.* By J. P. LUNDY. New York: 1876.
4. *The 'Historical' Grounds of the Lambeth Judgment.* By J. T. TOMLINSON. Sixth edition. London: 1899.

AN enlightened nation is not likely at the end of this century to feel very deeply on the subject of a priest's vestments or the decoration of a church, as such. But when rites are the outer symbols of certain doctrines they assume national importance in connexion with the history of the Reformed faith, and as such they are jealously watched. Two pictures may be drawn of Christian rites, as they were observed in the second and in the fifth centuries of our era, and the contrast is so striking that we are forced to inquire how such great changes came to be made, and what was the doctrine which each form of ritual set forth.

In the first case we should see a small society of very humble brethren, chiefly peasants and slaves of the great patrician families, gathered in some poor chamber before dawn to sing hymns to Christ, and meeting afterwards round the table at a simple meal, to which those who were able brought their contributions; and at its close the 'presiding brother,' after listening to the reading of Scriptures and of 'Memoirs of the Apostles,' and after exhortation and prayer, distributed to all the broken bread and the cup of wine, over which blessings had been uttered aloud by him 'as well as he could,' with remembrance of the Last Supper of the Lord, and thanks to God, both for the good things so created and for the hope of immortal life to come.*

The second picture presents to us a dark basilica, from which unbaptized persons have been dismissed by the deacon. Its walls are covered with frescoes or mosaics representing sacred persons and scenes, and silver images stand, hung with votive offerings, with wax candles burning before them. Priests in rich vestments occupy the choir,

* Justin Martyr, 'First Apol.' 65. Didache, x., xi.

railed off for exclusion of the laity beneath them in the nave. The high altar, with its lights and relics, is built of stone against the eastern wall. The smoke of incense fills the fane, and the elements are reserved in a jewelled shrine behind the dividing screen or the curtains of the apse. Holy water, consecrated oil, crossings, and genuflexions belong to these rites, with a written liturgy and the teaching of a mystic change in the consecrated oblations.

Few would have recognised, could they have lived again after four hundred years, either the rites or the teaching to which they had been accustomed in the days of secret worship, of persecution, and poverty. It is a question of history how such changes came to be made, and whence so much that was foreign to the simplicity of the primitive Church was derived—a question of history as to which we have much information in the writings of the Christian Fathers and in the acts of early Councils. And these writings were as well known in the sixteenth century, when the Reformed Church of England was established, as they are now, and were studied by Luther and Erasmus, by Calvin and Cranmer, quite as deeply as by modern students. It was because such innovations were known by them in no instance to have the authority either of the Christian Scriptures or of the Church before about 300 A.D. that they were deliberately discarded in the attempt to return to primitive usage.

The second year of King Edward VI. began on January 29, 1548. During that year the beliefs which traced back two centuries to Wycliffe, and which were held by the most earnest and enlightened part of the English nation, received the royal sanction. The great debate in Parliament had followed the issue of the first Prayer-book, which was enacted in the last week of the year, and prelates, both Roman and Protestant, agreed that all adoration, oblation, or elevation of the Host was by that Prayer-book abolished. On January 15, 1549—within the second year of the reign—the Act of Uniformity abolished all former liturgies in favour of the new book; and by the injunctions of 1549, founded on this Act, all ministers were forbidden to ‘counterfeit the Popish mass,’ and commanded to ‘use ‘no other ceremonies than are appointed in the King’s ‘Book of Common Prayer.’ That the ornaments and rites of the new Church were purely Protestant under this Prayer-book we learn from the witness of the Venetian

ambassador, writing in May 1551, when he says of the English that 'they use bells and organs, but neither altars nor images, nor water nor fire, nor other Roman ceremonies.' No authority even was admitted, by those responsible for composing this Prayer-book, as found in ancient liturgies of other Churches. In the parliamentary debate Cranmer rejected the Liturgy of St. James, and denounced that of St. Chrysostom as a forgery. He went back to the New Testament itself as the only authority, and in it he found no mention of the use by Christians of anything that he omitted from the rites of the Church of England. It was for this reason that, when the Protestant religion was again established by Elizabeth in 1558, it was found sufficient in the matter of ornaments to refer to those of the second year of Edward VI.—a decision that still held after inquiry by Royal Commissioners as to the rites which came again into use. No amount of research has been successful in proving the use, after the era of establishment, of any of those ornaments or rites which the Reformers abolished, save in cases where the laws of the land were evaded or broken.

It is, nevertheless, of interest to inquire into the history of ritual in the primitive Church, and into the growth of innovations and the reasons for their introduction, as well as into the controversies which are still, so long afterwards, symbolised by the rites of various Churches.

The Reformers had been careful, in translating the New Testament, that the word 'priest' should never be applied to a Christian minister. It was a corruption of the Greek word which they render 'elder' or 'presbyter,' but it had acquired in English the meaning of the Latin *sacerdos*, and as such it was avoided by those who held that such a term applied to all the faithful (1 Pet. ii. 5-9); and this view was urged also, in the latter part of the second century, by Tertullian,* when he exclaimed, 'Are not we as laymen also 'priests' (*sacerdotes*). The distinction of clergy and laity existed indeed in his time, but it was apparently not till the third century that the word *sacerdos* came to be used (by Cyprian especially) solely of bishops; and the theory, unknown to the earlier Fathers, was introduced that the Christian clergy were the rightful successors of the Priests and Levites of Old Testament times, to whom, therefore,

* Justin Martyr, 'Trypho,' 116, and Tertullian, 'Exhort. in Castitat.' 7; see 'De Monogam.' 7.

tithes were due by the people, and whose character was denoted by the introduction also of the words 'sacrifice' and 'altar' in connexion with the Eucharistic ceremony. By about 250 A.D. the word *papa*, or 'pope,' was also used of some bishops, the word *abba*, or 'father,' of the monks, then newly organised, and *nonna*, or 'mother,' of the new nuns, for Christians had apparently already forgotten the direct command, 'Call no man father' (Matt. xxiii. 9).

In earlier times, however, the organisation of the Church was much more simple and humble. Tertullian says that 'the most approved seniors presided.' Justin Martyr speaks only of the 'President of the Brethren.'* These were the 'rulers' of the Church (Heb. xiii. 17), though the Greek word was afterwards applied only to bishops. As being the older members of the flock they were called 'elders' or 'presbyters;' as having care of the common funds of the little society they received the title *episcopus*, or 'overseer,' which was commonly used in the Roman world of such officials, and was of civil, not of religious, import. In the New Testament itself there is little or no distinction to be noted between these terms. The elders of Ephesus are called 'overseers' also (Acts xx. 17, 28), and St. Paul, who so rarely uses the latter word, appears to speak of several 'bishops' in the single Church of Philippi (Phil. i. 1). St. Peter also addresses the presbyters as 'overseers' (1 Pet. v. 1, 2), exhorting them to humility—'not being as lords over the heritage' (verse 3). Other terms which did not permanently survive as ecclesiastical titles also occur in the Epistles and in some of the earlier patristic writings to denote these presidents and leaders of the infant communities.† In some Churches, even in the second century—as at Rome and Corinth—we read of presbyters only. In other cases bishops and deacons are noticed, without presbyters, and in these instances the leaders are compared to the Priests and the deacons to the Levites of the Hebrew system.‡ The original commandment was that the greatest among the flock should be its 'deacon,' or servant (Matt. xxiii. 11); but the word was early applied to the younger assistants

* Tertullian, 'Apol.' 39. Justin Martyr, 'First Apol.' 65 (*Proestōs*).

† E.g. *Prohistamenos*, Rom. xii. 8, 1 Thess. v. 12; and *Oikoumenos*, 1 Cor. iv. 1, 1 Pet. iv. 10. *Antistes* (2nd Council of Carthage).

‡ 1st Epistle of Clement, 42, 44, and Didache, xv. Irenæus (in Eusebius, 'H. E.' v. 24).

of the elders, though even Paul the Apostle calls himself a 'deacon' of the Church (2 Cor. xi. 23; Colos. i. 25).

It was both natural and proper that with increasing numbers and organisation the chief leader among these 'approved seniors' should attain to a more permanent and superior position; but the theory that bishops only could ordain was not founded on any passage in the New Testament, and is not traceable before the fourth century. There is even reason to suppose that as late as the third century, and yet later, the bishop, who was then elected by the 'suffrages' of laity and clergy alike, with consent of other bishops, was at times a layman, and that the regular hierarchy of three orders had not been fully established. Deacons appear, in some cases, writing in the name of their Church, and (like the seven great Roman deacons) attaining to positions of importance, as treasurers of the Church funds. Cyprian of Carthage became a *papa*, or bishop, when he was yet a neophyte, and though he is called a 'presbyter,' it has been supposed that he was a layman when elected to rule the Church. Yet later the case of Ambrose of Milan is quoted, as one in which a layman became directly a bishop, with others which have been disputed. However this may have been, it is quite clear that a regular hierarchy only developed very gradually from the simplicity of the small Christian communities, whose organisation resembled that of the synagogues, with their 'ministers' and 'elders,' who were not priests at all; or the later system of Islam, with its respected lay leaders of prayer (the *Imáms*), chosen from among the elder members of the tribe. They did not for some two hundred years make any distinction, of a sacerdotal nature, between those on whom the elders laid hands at baptism, whereby every Christian became a priest,* and those on whom they laid hands to devote them to the special service of the Church, as leaders, stewards, and ministers for the flock.†

Much less, then, did the Churches, separated so far from one another and founded by different Apostles, recognise in early times any bishop of bishops as supreme head of the Catholic Church. Tertullian derides such pretensions as suited rather to a heathen pontiff.‡ Cyprian and Firmilian,

* Tertullian, 'De Baptismo,' 7.

† Cf. Cyprian (Ep. 75. 7), 'Seniores natu;,' Hermas (Vis. ii. 4) 'Seniores qui præsunt ecclesiæ.'

‡ Tertullian, 'De Pudicit.' 1.

and other bishops of the third century, were of one accord in rejecting the pretensions of Stephen, Bishop of Rome, to authority out of Italy. Yet Cyprian was earnest in preaching the need of unity in the Church. Victor of Rome had been equally repulsed in the second century by the bishops of the East. In 325 A.D. the delegates of Silvester, *Papa* and Bishop of Rome, signed at Nice after Hosius, a bishop of Spain. Constantius, son of Constantine the Great, accepted the title Bishop of Bishops from the Arian clergy. The decree made in the name of the child-emperor, Valentinian III. (about 450 A.D.), which proclaimed Pope Leo supreme over all Churches, was never recognised in the Eastern empire, and the schism of Greeks and Romans began only fifty years later. The theory of the Catholic Church, before the time of Constantine, was that of a confraternity of bishops, each independent in his own country; and the yet earlier primitive theory was that of independent communities, guided only by the words of the Scriptures, and feeling it necessary to communicate by letter or messenger among themselves in times of danger and persecution, when consultations as to common action against their enemies became more frequent and important as the number of the converts increased.

In the third century considerable differences of custom distinguished various Churches. That of Jerusalem was under Jewish bishops; and in Bashan the Nazarenes observed circumcision, and turned to Jerusalem in prayer. The Syrians differed from the Romans as to the time of year at which they celebrated both the Nativity and Easter. In the fourth century the rites and liturgy of Jerusalem, as far as they are known from the lectures of Cyril and the travels of St. Silvia of Aquitaine, differed very considerably from those of Gaul. In some Churches wine only was used for the Eucharist, judging from the statement of Origen * that this was the first institution. In others, as at Carthage, water was mingled with the wine. The Ebionites were regarded by the later Eastern Churches as peculiar in using unleavened bread for the same rite;† and in the seventh century this custom distinguished the Western Churches, the Maronites, and the Armenians from the rest of the Easterns. Firmilian of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, writing to Cyprian of Carthage in 256 A.D., considered that in the observance of

* Origen, 'In Jeremiam.' Hom. 11, 'unmingled.'

† Epiphanius, 'Hæres.' 80, ch. 16.

Easter, and in 'many other sacraments,' the Roman Church had ceased to observe 'primitive tradition.' But there was no central authority to compel a rigid conformity in practice; nor did such differences trouble the peace of the Catholic Church, because those great controversies which in the fifth century rent it into five had not yet arisen, and the rites which symbolised the various dogmas of the contending parties had not as yet become distinctive of doctrine.

The necessity of private confession of sin to a priest was also not evident to the primitive Church, while as yet the sacerdotal order was not distinguished. Public confession before the congregation was an ancient and scriptural institution,* and was at times accompanied by public penance, but we find no trace of private confession in the early patristic writings or before the fourth century, and even then Chrysostom was strongly opposed to the practice. In Gaul this practice is mentioned in 650 A.D., and it was imposed as an article of faith by Rome in 1215 A.D. This terrible engine of priestly power was unknown even to bishops like Cyprian, who uses the word both of confession to God and of public acknowledgement of apostacy under persecution.

The sacraments of the early Church were only two—the Eucharist and Baptism. Marriage and burial were public civil ceremonies, and it was impossible for Christians in time of persecution to make confession of their faith in public. Confirmation had not become as yet disconnected from baptism, and only the two distinctive rites of the Christian faith were secretly preserved among the converts.

The original *Agape*, or social supper of the Christians, resembled the Jewish family rite of the Passover; the 'cup of blessing' resembled that first cup of the Paschal feast, over which was said the invocation, 'Blessed be He who created the fruit of the vine.'† According to the early pictures of the catacombs, bread and wine did not alone constitute this supper, for fish are represented; and in later times it included meat, poultry, cheese, milk, and honey.‡ Traces of the supper are found among the abstaining sects of the Euphrates valley, whose Eucharist consisted of water, bread, and salt. The offerings laid on the altar, even in

* Matt. xviii. 17, Acts xix. 18, James v. 16; Chrysostom, Hom. v; Cyprian, 'De Lapsis,' xxviii. 31.

† 1 Cor. x. 16; Mishna Pesakhim, x. 2.

‡ Augustin, 'C. Faust.' xx. 20.

the first years of the fourth century, included corn, grapes, oil, and incense;* and to our own times, in Italy, the archaic practice of offering poultry on the high altar survives. The Jews, who strictly limited the supper to one or two families, have preserved its ritual character unchanged; but the Christians, accustomed to assemble in one common room or hall, found it difficult, even from the first, to maintain the simplicity and decency of the rite. In the second century the supper became costly, and scandals, which had even arisen within the lifetime of the Apostle Paul, grew more dangerous.† The kiss of peace was abused, and gradually abandoned, or reduced to a strict ceremonial, which still survives among the Copts and in some Italian Churches. In the original rite, as described by Justin Martyr, the broken bread and the cup were distributed to all, and carried by deacons to the sick. Even down to the middle of the third century the wine was administered to infants when baptized. Collections were made for the poor; and among those Jewish Christians who spoke of Jesus only as the 'Servant of God,' three ritual prayers, unlike any afterwards in use, are described. In the fourth century, Basil relates that the prayers used were based on an 'unwritten tradition,' to which other things had been 'prefixed and added' later.‡ But no effort to preserve order appears to have succeeded, and the Agape was finally forbidden in Churches by the Council of Laodicea in 365 A.D. The ancient rite, however, survived in the Thebaid, on Saturday evenings, till the fifth century,§ after its suppression by Ambrose in Italy, while infant communion was still permissible in 740 A.D.

The abuse of the supper, as early as the time of Cyprian or earlier, led to the introduction of a separate and stricter

* Apost. Constit., bk. viii. Canon iii.

† 1 Cor. xi. 20-34; Clemens Alex. 'Pæd.' ii. 1, § 4; Tertullian, 'De Jejuniiis,' 17.

‡ The Kiss: Rom. xvi. 16, 1 Cor. xvi. 20, 2 Cor. xiii. 12, 1 Thess. v. 26, 1 Pet. v. 14; Clemens Alex. 'Pæd.' iii. 11; Justin Martyr, 'First Apol.' 65; Apost. Constit. bk. viii. ch. 2; Athenagoras, 'Legat. pro Christian.' § 32; Tertullian, 'Ad Uxorem,' ii. 4; Origen on Rom. xvi. 16. Collections: Tertull. 'Apol.' 39. Liturgies: Didache, x.; Basil, 'De Spirit. Sanct.' 27. Infant Communion: Cyprian, 'De Lapsis,' Apost. Constit. viii. 13; Evagrius, 'H. E.' iv. 36; Augustin, Sermon 174, § 7, &c.; Tertull. 'De Orat.' 14; Origen, 'In Exod. Hom.' xi. 7.

§ Sozomen, 'H. E.' vii. 19; Socrates, 'H. E.' v. 22; Augustin, 'Epist. ad Jan.' i. 4.

rite, which only symbolised the meal by the single loaf and cup upon the church table, as the Jews symbolised the Paschal lamb by the shank-bone alone. Cyprian was troubled by the disorderly talking or loud prayers of his congregation. He insisted on a Communion rite at early dawn, with fasting worshippers, and the family supper in the evening he regarded as not a true *Dominicum*, because not shared by an assembled congregation. In some Churches the converts took home with them in caskets their portion of the bread, to be eaten before their morning meals; but this custom was forbidden after the third century, on account of the superstitious use of the elements as charms against disease.*

The hour at which the Eucharistic rite was celebrated differed at various times and in different places. During the period of persecution it was a secret meeting, held at night, and this gave rise to many slanderous accusations. In Syria and Asia Minor it was celebrated in the daytime in the second century; in Africa before dawn, and also after supper at eve. In 112 A.D. Pliny speaks of it as held on 'a certain day;' in Palestine that day was Sunday in the time of Justin Martyr; in the Thebaid it was Saturday, after the evening meal, down to the fifth century. In Carthage, under Cyprian, about 250 A.D., there was a daily celebration, but this was not a universal custom. Even in the fourth century, in the East, Basil speaks only of the first, fourth, sixth, and sometimes the seventh, days of the week. The early Churches of Rome and Alexandria had no communion on the Jewish Sabbath, but Chrysostom speaks of daily celebration at Antioch in the fourth century. By this time the custom of fasting communion had become general, and the Agape was almost extinct even as a private rite.† Thus in the course of some three hundred years the ancient institution of a supper consecrated by the singing of psalms and hymns, the reading of Scriptures, followed by exhortation and prayer, with the final rite commemorative of the Master, was slowly changed into the formal morning communion, taken fasting, and no longer confined to the

* Cypr. 'De Dominic. Orat.' 18 and Epist. lxiii. 13, 'De Lapsis,' 26 and 132; Tertull. 'De Orat.' 9, 'Ad Uxor.' ii. 5; Clemens Alex. 'Strom.' i. 1.

† Pliny to Trajan, Ep. x. 96; Tertullian, 'De Idolat.' 7, 'Ad Uxor.' ii. 4, 'De Corona,' 3; Cyprian, 'Epist.' lxiii. 15, 16; Socrates, 'H. E.' v. 22; Basil, Ep. 289; Chrysostom in Ephes. Hom. 3, in Cor. Hom. 27; Augustin, Ep. 118; Jerome, Ep. 71.

Sabbath, or the Lord's day, but repeated daily at dawn. The change was inevitable because of the increasing numbers in each church or congregation, and because the united participation of all in a single rite was considered essential, and the family ceremony of the Jewish Passover was no longer connected with that of the Eucharist.

Christian and pagan writers, however, were agreed that in the second century the Christians had no altars. The term is used sometimes, figuratively, by the early Fathers; but Origen, admitting to Celsus that Christians used no altars, said that the soul was the true *bomos*. Cyprian admits the word *altare*, and by the fourth century the term was common.* But even then the Eucharist was placed on a wooden table, behind which the presbyter or bishop sat or stood. In the earliest times the brethren all sat in the Roman fashion, with their wives, at this table, as represented in the well-known early picture of an Agape feast in the catacombs at Rome. In the early years of the fourth century the congregation stood,† praying in silence at the table, and the laity were not as yet forbidden to approach, and to remain round it.—Both the bread and the cup were still given to all, and the latter was first totally denied to the laity by Rome in the twelfth century.

There was, moreover, in early days some difference of practice regarding the elements used in the Eucharistic rite. Some, like Origen, held that wine alone should be used; others, like Cyprian, that wine should be mingled with water. The question did not become really important until these practices began, in the fifth century, to symbolise different doctrines as to the human nature of Christ. The Cup of Blessing used at the Passover is said to have been 'mixed,' but it is not certain whether this does not mean 'spiced.' The ancients generally mingled water with the strong *merum* of the age, and early writers do not attribute any later mystic meaning to the custom.‡ In Rome an ancient rite has survived of adding milk and honey to the wine on Easter Eve. The customs of the schismatical sects of the second and third centuries were

* Tertullian, 'De Orat.' 14; Clemens Alex., 'Strom' vii.; Origen 'Against Celsus,' viii.; Cyprian, Epist. xlv. § 3; Augustin, Serm. 159, § 1, Serm. 21, c. 5 on Psalm lxiii. 11; Minucius Felix, 'Octav.' 32.

† See Apost. Canons, lvii. 13, 14.

‡ Cyprian, Epist. lxiii. 13.

innumerable, including the use of water only, of milk, or of crushed grapes. When, however, in the fifth century, the Asiatic Churches contended for the single Divine nature of Christ, the mixed chalice became the symbol, among the Western Latins and Greeks, of the humanity and divinity of their Lord. In 692 A.D. a Council at Constantinople condemned the Armenians, who continued to use wine unmixed with water. The old Byzantine liturgy of the seventh century directs a few drops of boiling water to be added to the wine, and the use of the mixed cup in Palestine is certainly as old as the time of Justin Martyr, or about 150 A.D.

To those who identified the Last Supper with the Passover it was natural to use unleavened bread. The Church of Jerusalem no doubt used it, as did the Ebionites, or early Christians of Bashan. But the distinction between Jewish and Gentile Churches early arose, and as the Easterns separated themselves from the Synagogue they began to use leaven, as is still the custom of most Oriental Churches. In Rome the early usage is less clearly known, though probably the bread was unleavened from the first. The Latin Churches observed the day of the week (Good Friday), and took no count of the day of the Jewish month (the 15th of Nisan); and in this they differed, at least from the second century, with the Churches of Asia Minor, which celebrated the Crucifixion on the 14th, not on the 15th, of Nisan. These Churches thus followed the Fourth Gospel, which was that of the Church of Ephesus, and regarded the Last Supper as preceding the Jewish Passover. The question depends on the reading of a single phrase in the Gospel,* but it was natural that in such Churches leaven should be used for the loaf of the Eucharist.

The patristic writers adopt the mystic words of the Gospel, which could not have been misunderstood by disciples to whom their Master spoke while yet alive on earth. That the Fathers intended their words to be taken in any other than a symbolic sense appears clearly impossible, since all alike acknowledge the Eucharistic rite to be but a figure, type, or emblem of the Passion. But they were speaking to very rude and superstitious converts, brought up by heathen parents to believe in many magical rites and ceremonies. The preacher said to them 'This Eucharist

* John xix. 14, see verse 31, and xviii. 28, Matt. xxvi. 17, Luke xxii. 7, Mark xiv. 16, Matt. xxvii. 62; Eusebius, 'H. E.' v. 24, 25.

'is to us instead of the sacrifices of Jews or pagans. It is the symbol of the Passion, the emblem of the Body and Blood of the Lord.' But many understood only that by consecration the oblations had become changed, and they regarded them with superstitious awe. The expressions of the Fathers cannot be taken as anything but figurative,* but the paganism of the age taught (in the rites of Mithra) a dogma of actual transubstantiation, which was well known to many converts. Justin Martyr said that the thank-offerings of bread and wine were the sacrifices commanded by Christ, and compared them to the meal-offering of the Jewish temple. Elsewhere, however, he speaks of the Body and Blood of Christ as the 'food whereby through transmutation our flesh and blood are nourished.' Irenæus said that the Eucharistia were the body of Christ and His blood, and not common bread and wine. Tertullian, though he spoke of sacrifices, said that the elements were the 'figure' of Christ's body, 'for Christ is life and bread is life.' Cyprian says that 'Christ is bread' to the believer; but also says, 'in all our sacrifices we make mention of His Passion (for the Passion of the Lord is the sacrifice we offer); . . . we offer the cup in commemoration of the Lord and of His Passion.' Origen only says that through prayer the elements are made a 'certain body,' holy and hallowing. Even in the fourth century Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of the Eucharist as the 'emblem' of the Passion, though adding that what has been touched by the Holy Spirit is 'transformed.' The earlier teachers thus guarded themselves against any material or magical interpretation; but that such a meaning was attached by the ignorant to the rite before 440 A.D. seems to be clear, or otherwise Theodoret would hardly have considered it necessary to state his belief that the nature of the oblations was still the same after consecration. If the words of the early Fathers have been in these cases preserved to us as they were first written—which is certainly not the case with all Cyprian's letters—the gradual growth of the dogma of transubstantiation, imposed as an article of faith on the West by Innocent III. at the end of the twelfth century, may be traced rather to

* Justin Martyr, 'Trypho,' and 'First Apol.' 66; Irenæus, 'Hæres.' iv. 18, § 5, v. 22, § 3; Tertullian, 'De Anima,' 17, 'Adv. Marcion.' ix. 14, 'De Orat.' 6 and 14; Cyprian, 'De Dominic. Orat.' 18 and Epist. lxiii. 17; Origen, 'Against Celsus,' viii.; Cyril of Jer., 'Catech. Lect.' v. 20, 22; Theodoret, 'Dial.' ii.

the superstitions of the flock than to the mystic language of their early teachers.

The second Christian sacrament—that of Baptism—presents to us a history of varying uses and gradual change, such as has been traced in that of the Eucharist or ‘thanks-giving’ of the Church. Baptism was the rite by which converts were ‘born again,’ and fitted to take part in the Communion. The question of baptizing children, or infants, did not arise till the second generation at earliest. The practice of appointing sponsors, or spiritual parents, was the natural result of the conversion of those whose real parents remained heathen, and who had no instruction in Christian teaching.* As the belief grew up that baptism atoned only for the previous sins of the convert it became a common practice to delay it till late in life—as in the case of the Emperor Constantine himself; and the word ‘infant’ did not always mean a babe, since in religious language the newly baptized was an infant of the Church.

It is clear, however, that when children were admitted to the Eucharist they must have been baptized, since none were allowed to take part in that rite before baptism. It was probably in the case of sickly children that Christian parents first sought for such early baptism. Tertullian discourages the practice, which was known to Irenæus and Origen, on the ground that the sponsors might die before the child could understand Christian duty. In the third century some bishops objected to baptizing an infant less than eight days old.† Gregory of Nazianzus a century later advised deferring till at least the third year, except in the case of weakly infants, and this was still the opinion in the fifth century in Syria. It is clear that the earlier Christians desired that the child should, if possible, have some understanding of the meaning of the rite.

The candidates for baptism were carefully instructed in Christian belief and custom before they were presented. The catechumen and his friends, as well as the bishop or other minister about to perform the ceremony, are said, among the Christians of Palestine in the second century, to have prepared themselves by fasting. In cases where neither bishop, priest, or deacon could be found any layman might perform the rite. In the third century it was a matter of debate whether those already baptized by some peculiar

* Tertullian, ‘De Baptism.’ 18.

† Cyprian approved; see Third Council of Carthage, Canon cx.

and heretical sect should be rebaptized when they joined the Catholic Church. The bishops of Rome did not insist on that rebaptism which Cyprian of Carthage urged, but which his successor, Augustin of Hippo, did not impose, * though Tertullian had apparently written on the necessity of this repetition. Baptism was administered in the name of Christ in the third century, and it appears that the insistence on a triple immersion in the name of the Trinity was never a Roman custom, but peculiar to the East, and as such charged, in 1054 A.D., against Rome as in error.†

Running water was preferred by the early Christians for the rite, and the convert stood in such water, and was either immersed or sprinkled with it. Tertullian speaks of baptism in pools, streams, fountains, lakes, in the sea, or in tanks. In the third century, however, it became more usual to resort to regular buildings, called baptisteries, covering in a reservoir, with steps, outside the basilica. In the fourth century such a tank existed outside the Martyrion of the Holy Sepulchre, and in the fifth another was built at the Pool of Siloam, by a chapel. The sexes were separated by curtains, and deaconesses led the women to the water. Cyprian says that 'it is important for the water to be first 'cleansed and sanctified by a priest,' and that the oil for the chrism should also be sanctified on the altar. In these directions we find the first introduction of holy water and consecrated oil. But such ceremonies do not belong to the true primitive age.‡ The baptized person was anointed afterwards with the chrism, and blessed by the bishop as he came up from the water—this being the original rite of confirmation. He then partook of the Eucharist; and the ordinary or normal rite down to a late period was that of baptism by immersion, received by adult persons, and conducted by a bishop. In the eleventh century one of the charges made against Rome by the Greeks was that the chrism was confined to the consecration of bishops in the West.§ The neophyte was given honey and milk to taste—as an infant newly born; and about 800 A.D. we read of the

* Didache, vii.; Justin Martyr, 'First Apol.' 61; Tertullian, 'De Exhort. in Castit.' 7, 'De Baptism.' 15; Cyprian, Epist. lxxv. 5, 6; Augustin, 'De Bapt. c. Donatt.' vi. 7, 10.

† Cyprian, Epist. lxxiii. 16.

‡ Didache, vii.; Tertullian, 'De Baptism.' 4, 'De Corona,' 3; Cyprian, Epist. lxx. 1, 2; Justin Martyr, 'First Apol.' 79.

§ Tertullian, 'De Baptism.' 6-8, 'De Corona,' 3.

use of oil and myrrh, it having become customary to anoint the candidates from head to foot before they entered the water.*

The great season of baptism, from an early age, was Easter or Pentecost. In the East it also took place at Epiphany, and in Gaul and Spain at Christmas. As the duties of the bishop increased it became impossible for his blessing to be given at once in places where, at the seasons, he was unable to be present. Jerome describes the bishops of the fourth century as travelling from town to town to confirm the neophytes, and for this reason a separate sacrament in time arose. The newly baptized were, however, received into the Church by the kiss following the chrism.

Cyril of Jerusalem, in his 'Lectures to Catechumens,' has given a full account of the ceremony at Jerusalem in 347 A.D. On Easter Eve the candidates assembled in the dark porch of the baptistery—of which only the foundations now remain at the site. They faced to the west, and solemnly renounced all the sins and superstitions of pagan days. Then, facing to the east, they repeated that simple 'symbol,' which was the germ of future creeds: 'I believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and in one baptism of repentance.' From the darkness of outer night they entered the 'house' of baptism, which blazed with light. They were stripped entirely and oiled; they descended into the water, and were thrice immersed. Then, coming out, they were anointed with the chrism on the forehead, ears, nostrils, and breast with consecrated oil. Clothed in white linen they tasted oil and honey, received the kiss, and the imposition of hands by the bishop, and were admitted to the Eucharistic rite that followed.

Such was the general developement by the fourth century of the simpler rite of baptism in running streams. The sprinkling of the sick at home, or of weakly infants, was a concession to the anxiety of parents, and not till about the twelfth century did infant baptism by affusion become the rule in the West. The Latin churches of the Crusaders in Palestine are distinguished by their fonts, fitted to hold four seated infants or children. But the Easterns preserved the ancient rite, and used instead the great tanks which adjoined their basilicas. The use even of honey and milk

* Apostol. Constit. vii. 22, 23; Cyril, 'Catech. Lect.' xx. 2, 3; Chrysostom, 'Ad Innocent. Epist.' 3.

continued, among the Copts and Abyssinians, down to the seventeenth century at least.

The Christian teachers down to the close of the third century were unable, in face of Scripture, to insist on the asceticism which developed later. Bishops like Cyprian, who was apparently unmarried, favoured celibacy. Earlier bishops, like Tertullian, who was married, held that Christians—or priests at least—should not marry more than once. In the Roman world generally the matron who was faithful to the memory of one husband was respected, and the fast lives of patricians of both sexes were regarded with disgust by others than the Christians of the age. After divorce Tertullian said there should be no second marriage. In 365 the Council of Laodicea discouraged such a practice, but could not, in consideration of the Scripture, deny communion to those who had married again. Celibacy of the clergy was not enforced by the Council of Nice, and the proceedings of later times showed great variations. In Thessaly the custom was regarded as novel even in the fifth century. In the East it has never prevailed. In the West, even Hildebrand did not succeed in entirely establishing it as late as the close of the eleventh century. We have in earlier times, still extant, the tombstones of married deacons in Rome, dating from 295 and 472 A.D., and one of a married priest in 389 A.D. The Orientals continued to acknowledge marriage before ordination, and in the early years of the fourth century both bishops and priests were forbidden to put away their wives on the pretext of piety. They were not to marry twice after baptism, nor to take widows or women of other than decent character. The old terms *diacona*, *presbytera*, and *episcopa* appear to have belonged to the wives of deacons, priests, and bishops, and the rules which Cyprian sought to enforce at Carthage were not those of the Church as a whole.*

But the asceticism which at first distinguished the Montanists and other heretics in the second century spread in the Catholic Church in the third. The hermits of Egypt

* Matt. xix. 9, 1 Cor. vii. 25–40, 1 Tim. iv. 3; Tertullian, 'De Monogam.' vii. 11, 'De Patient.' 12; Apostol. Canons, v. 11, 17; Socrates, 'H. E.' v. 22; Eusebius, 'H. E.' ii. 17; Sozomen, 'H. E.' i. 18; Tertullian, 'De Veland. Virgin.' ix. 13, 'De Orat.' i. 17, 21, 22; Cyprian, Epist. v. 4 and 5, 'De Habitu Virg.' 14, 15, 21; Chrysostom, 'Against Subintroductæ'; Jerom, 'Ep. ad Eustoch.' 22; Greg. Nyssa, 'De Virginitat.' 23; Basil, Ep. 55,

became the objects of superstitious reverence, and created round themselves communities of monks. Regular orders of such were, indeed, unknown in the fourth century; but the wealth and worldliness of the Church were then driving many good men to the monastic life, and Palestine was becoming full of monks and nuns, vowed to chastity and poverty. A hundred years later the extravagances of these ascetics, while regarded with superstitious awe by the ignorant, recalled the ordeals of Indian Yogis and of the pagan priests of Hierapolis in Syria. Women who followed and almost adored such ascetics—as Paula followed Jerome to Bethlehem—took on them vows of chastity, which were not, however, regarded as irrevocable. Even in the time of Tertullian they had begun to sit in church with the recognised widows over sixty years of age, and desired to lay aside their veils, as though they remained yet children. In Cyprian's time there were no nunneries, and such devotees were obliged, for security, to live with or near a monk. But this gave rise to many scandals, and was severely condemned. They as yet had no religious habit, and appeared like other women, wearing jewels and with painted faces. The association of monks and nuns was long beyond the power of Councils to repress. Chrysostom regarded these 'subintroduced sisters' as a new and inexplicable phenomenon a century after Cyprian had threatened them with terrible punishment. Basil would have excommunicated them; but neither Church law nor civil enactments succeeded in putting them down till the sixth century; and the establishment of nunneries was the only means found of regulating the life of virgins.

With the growth of an asceticism which was condemned by the Church of the first two centuries the custom of mutual confession of sin arose in the monkish communities, which gathered in caves or huts round some famous hermit, and the fasts became longer and more strict.

Fasting was a Jewish and a Scriptural custom of immense antiquity, but Irenæus, writing to Victor of Rome, speaks of only one or two days' fast before Easter. Tertullian speaks of a fast before Good Friday; and in the fifth century at Rome this Lenten fast lasted only three weeks, and Saturdays and Sundays were excepted. Ambrose speaks of fasting by day (like the modern Moslems), except on Sunday, and sometimes on Saturday. The Council of Laodicea, in 365 A.D., directed that during Lent the

Eucharist should be taken only on Saturday and Sunday, so that apparently it was not celebrated fasting.*

The sign of the cross was a secret symbol as early as 150 A.D., by which the persecuted brethren recognised each other. Tertullian repelled the heathen accusation that Christians worshipped the cross.† They dared not mark their monuments with the sign which they used in baptism, and in the third century the epitaphs of Fabian and of Lucius, Bishops of Rome, are unmarked by a cross, though one has been added to that of Cornelius, apparently by the later hand which wrote 'Martyr' after his name. The cross first appears in Syria on Greek inscriptions in 350 A.D.‡ No true cross is found in any early catacomb text, for it is remarkable that the monogram of Christ, called the *Chrysma*, which appeared on the standard of Constantine was not of Christian origin. It marks coins of Trajanus Decius, the persecutor, in 249 A.D., and occurs much earlier on those of Herod the Great. Christians confined themselves to less distinct emblems—the fish, the anchor, the palm, the lamb, or the monogram X.M.Γ.

Such, then, was the growth of the Catholic Church down to 300 A.D. It was no longer what it had been in Apostolic times, for great changes in organisation had occurred, and superstitious beliefs had grown up among the laity round the Eucharistic rite. The claim of power to exorcise demons still survived, and the dignity of bishops, who were tacitly recognised even by the Roman Government as early as 272 A.D., had become great. But in the Churches of Origen, Cornelius, and Cyprian there was no tendency to make terms with heathenism by any concession to idolatrous customs. Why Christians, who led such quiet, humble and inoffensive lives, should have been persecuted, not only by the mob or by wicked emperors, but also by able and wise rulers of Rome, does not at first seem clear; but down to 118 A.D. they were hardly distinguished from the Jews, and their punishment by Nero, Domitian, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius occurred exactly at those periods when the Jews were either in open rebellion or in a state of seething agitation. After that time, when half a century of quiet growth

* Tertullian, 'De Orat.' 18; Socrates, 'H. E.' v. 22; Sozomen, 'H. E.' vii. 19; Ambrose, 'De Jejun.' 10.

† Tertullian, 'Ad Nationes,' i. 12, 'Ad Uxor.' ii. 5.

‡ Justin Martyr, 'Second Apol. ;' Cyprian, 'De Pass. Christ. ;' Chrysostom on Matt. xvi. 23, Hom. liv. ; on Col. iii. Hom. viii. ; on Timothy iv. Hom. xii.

had made them an important element in the population, and when men of all ranks had begun to join them, it will be found that they were persecuted when the Empire was engaged in serious foreign wars. Severus, in 230, issued an edict against new converts during the Persian war; Decius, in 250, which was the year of his defeat by the Goths on the Danube; Valerian, in 258, when Persia again attacked the frontiers; Aurelian, in 272, when Palmyra was in arms against him; and, finally, Diocletian, in 303, punished Christians who refused to serve as soldiers. Perhaps this latter instance explains what the danger apprehended really was; for if the Christians persisted in preaching the wickedness of war, and became numerous and powerful in the State, it must have seemed to the emperors that Roman rule would fall to pieces before the barbarians.

Nevertheless they finally won their way to toleration. In 305, Galerius, in the East, made terms with the 'deluded Christians,' permitting them 'freely to profess their private opinions, and to assemble in their conventicles without fear of molestation, provided always that they preserved a due respect to the established laws and government.' Eight years later came the edict of toleration at Milan, and in 325 A.D. Constantine presided over the Council of Nice.

But imperial favour was not a blessing to the Church. The Council of Nice resulted in the terrible Arian schism. In 431 A.D. that of Ephesus expelled the Nestorians. In 451 A.D. that of Chalcedon separated Greeks and Romans from the Jacobites and Armenians, who in turn separated from one another. The differences between Rome and Constantinople grew steadily greater till the final schism of 1054 A.D. From the fourth century the term 'Catholic,' if claimed by any one branch of the Church in general, has been denied by all other branches, save as far as Protestants acknowledge the fundamental unity of belief underlying the differences of each.

Great Churchmen like Jerome and Chrysostom, Augustin and Basil, who did not spare the ruling bishops of their age, seem to have looked with little less than dismay on the changes and corruptions which followed so fast after the conversion of Constantine. Imperial favour had opened the road for worldly men to power and wealth as bishops. The Church, reconciled with heathendom, developed a policy which Augustin describes and Hildebrand details.* Men were to be persuaded to join the faith by the reconsecration

* Augustin, Ep. 29; Greg. VII. Epist. xi. 76, eleventh century A.D.

of popular festivals to the memory of saints and martyrs, and by the reconsecration of heathen temples as churches. It naturally resulted that rites of heathen origin were adopted as Christian, some of them before the great schisms of the fifth century, others locally, by various Churches in different countries, after separation.

When Queen Helena visited Jerusalem in 326 A.D. she set the fashion of pilgrimage, which rapidly spread, till in 333 we find the Pilgrim of Bordeaux walking across Europe to the Holy City. During her visit she was shown only two holy places—the cave under the Temple of Tammuz at Bethlehem, which seems to have been the same known to Justin Martyr, about 150 A.D., as the cradle of Christ; * and the scene of the Transfiguration and Ascension on Olivet. But ten years later a great basilica had risen on the site of the Temple of Venus, in Jerusalem, where the lost tomb of Christ was supposed to have been discovered by miracle. In another ten years the wood of the true cross was shown in this basilica, and pieces had been scattered all over the world as relics. In 333 A.D. it is unmentioned; and the only sacred object was then a pillar, on Mount Sion, to which Christ was supposed to have been bound. Holy places and holy objects increased rapidly in number. The sacred footprint on Olivet is soon mentioned. In the fifth century the lance and crown of thorns were shown; and in the sixth the cup of the Last Supper. About 450 A.D. the relics of St. Stephen were believed to have been discovered at Gamala, west of Jerusalem; and this discovery was followed by innumerable others of relics belonging to saints or Apostles, which were believed to work miracles like the cross itself, or the bread of the Eucharist, or holy water, or holy oil. Processions, illuminations, and the use of incense were adopted when the ancient festivals of the heathen were sanctioned by the Church under new names. Christmas-day was fixed in Rome on the old birthday of the ‘unconquered Sun.’ The dances by torchlight at martyrs’ tombs replaced older Roman feasts. The vestments of the clergy, which originally were the dresses of the patrician class, became distinctive through their archaic fashions as time went on; but they were not the same in East and West. After 450 the use of images and pictures was tolerated in all Churches, except that of the Nestorians, on the understanding that they were but ‘books of the ignorant,’ and no longer idols.

* Justin Martyr, ‘Trypho,’ 78; Origen, ‘Against Celsus,’ i. ch. 4; Cyril, ‘Catech. Lect.’ xii. 20; Jerome, ‘Ep. ad Paulin.’ 13 and 49.

Lucina and her babe became the Christian Virgin with her Child; but the ancient superstitions clung to these *icons*, and even in the fourth century wonder-working portraits were believed in by many, though as yet the walls of churches were adorned only by the cross. Symbolic figures were first painted, portraits of saints, scenes of martyrdom, and Old Testament episodes. New Testament miracles followed as subjects on sarcophagi or on the walls of churches, and finally portraits of Christ, representing many diverse types, and of His mother, and even of God Himself. In the eighth century the Iconoclasts of Constantinople strove, in vain, to root out the idolatry which had invaded the Church in general. The Popes gave them no help; and the *icons* were restored, even in the East, for adoration, though statues were forbidden by the Greek Church.

The exclusion of the laity from the Lord's Table began to be customary in the fifth century. The crucifix was introduced into Roman churches about the seventh century, but was not used in the East. The elevation of the Host and the adoring chant of the Agnus belong to the eighth century; the mitre and the stole to the ninth—in the West. Rome continued to multiply ceremonies and sacred emblems, even more than did the Orientals, till by the time of the Crusades her ritual, her teaching, and her customs were quite distinct, and peculiar to Western Churches. The various liturgies, which, from the fourth century onwards, were constantly modified according to the distinctive doctrines of the five great Churches, were superseded in the ninth century by the Gregorian Liturgy at Rome; but even in the East we have no early manuscripts to tell us the original forms of those services which are now called by the names of St. Cyril, St. James, St. Mark, St. Basil, St. Gregory, or St. Chrysostom. All that we know is that they bear evidence of very late revision to express particular tenets, and that they do not retain the ancient prayers of the second century, as given in the 'Teaching of the Apostles,' any more than they represent the simple rites of that age.

In the ninth century, in the West, the original wooden table, which is still sometimes preserved in the East, had become a stone altar containing relics, and on which was placed the pyx for the reserved elements, the chalice, and the missal, with burning lights. But even then the altar was not as a rule built against the wall, and the priest did not stand before it facing east. The 'Mass,' which was peculiar—in name at least—to Rome, and which preserves a word of which the meaning is not clearly explained by

modern writers, was rapidly becoming a mystery to the people. The worship of the Virgin had grown up in East and West alike in the fifth century, but new dogmas were added concerning her which are peculiar to Rome. The Roman tonsure of her close-shaved priests, and their vestments, were alike distinctive, as contrasted with the bearded and married bishops of the East, who wore crowns instead of mitres.

When we turn back from such ritual to the words of Tertullian we see how far-reaching were the changes. He tells us, in the second century, that the Christians used no incense; * and other Fathers, including Augustin, late in the fourth century, say the same. Tertullian speaks † of holy water as carried round by pagans to 'expiate country places, 'houses, temples, and cities.' None who have read anything of classic literature can fail to admit that these ceremonies, like the processions, relics, votive offerings, the use of images and pictures; and of many vestments—such as the amice for instance—were heathen customs as late as the time of Constantine, and yet later. It was the fatal policy of conciliating pagan populations which brought these things, and the superstitions which clung to them, into the ritual of the Christian Church.

Thus to-day we see side by side two pictures very like those which we first considered as contrasts. The simple building with dark wooden walls; the single light shining on the black-gowned figure in the pulpit, and on the open Bible; the wooden table before the minister as he faces his flock. Or, again, the great fane with its storied windows, its incense, its crosses and banners, its gleaming vestments of gold and silver, its altar, and its storm of sacred song. The one offers to a harassed world the peace proclaimed in the Gospel: the other, the venerable rites of consolation of mother Church. Both are in their way beautiful to the eye, and both appeal to the heart; but the latter brings with it the dangers of superstition, in an age which is ready to believe in marvels, whether at Lourdes or in the preachings of a 'Mahatmah' or a 'Christian Scientist.' The danger is no less than it was when the dogmas of Rome were denounced by Luther, and the King's Book of Common Prayer made lawful alone in the Reformed Church in the second year of Edward VI. of England.

* Tertullian, 'Apol.' 43, cf. 30; Clemens Alex. 'Strom.' VII. 6, § 32, 'Pæd.' ii. 8, § 67.

† Tertullian, 'De Baptism,' 5.

ART. VI.—*Odes and Epodes of Horace.* Translated by Sir STEPHEN E. DE VERE, Bart. With Preface and Notes. Fourth Edition. London: 1893.

THE popularity of Horace is proved by the number of his translators. They were numerous long since, and as the years have passed their number has greatly increased. Not a few of our earlier poets addressed themselves to the task, including one, Ben Jonson, so skilful in his use of lyrical metres that a large success might have been expected from him. It can scarcely be said to have been attained. Milton, in the first stanza of his '*Quis multa gracilis*,' is eminently successful; and those that follow have much charm about them; but in one, alas! the idiom ceases to be English, a fault to which a valorous enthusiasm may make us insensible, but which in a contemporary would not easily be pardoned. Dryden's version of '*Tyrrhena regum*' is a memorable success. It is considerably longer than the original; but then it professes to be, not a translation, but a paraphrase. It is more difficult to justify the poet when he speaks of ancient Rome in connexion with her Lord Mayor, or to deny that the most striking stanza in his version is gravely damaged by the epithet which he applies to Fortune, and which is as unjust as it is opprobrious and indecorous. The Roman conception of that Goddess included much of the inconstant and the cruel, but nothing of the sensual, the mercenary, or the vile. The extreme lack of refinement in sentiment which Dryden combined with robustness of intellect and energy of language is nowhere more painfully illustrated than by this blot upon what would otherwise have been a noble stanza.

Before we come to the moderns we must give a specimen of an early translator of Horace. Among the best of our earlier translators of his '*Odes*' is certainly to be counted Cowley. His version of '*Odi profanum vulgus et arceo*' is named a '*paraphrase*,' not a '*translation*,' but in its fire and energy it is probably at the head of the early translations:—

'Hence, ye profane! I hate you all;
Both the great vulgar and the small.
To virgin minds, which yet their native whiteness hold,
Not yet discoloured with the love of gold,
That jaundice of the soul
(Which makes it look so gilded and so foul)—

To you, ye very few, those truths I tell;
 The Muse inspires my song: hark, and observe it well.
 We look on men, and wonder at such odds
 'Twixt things that were the same by birth;
 We look on kings as giants of the earth;
 Those giants are but pigmies to the Gods.

Beauty and Strength, and Wit, and Wealth, and Power,
 Have their short flourishing hour,
 And love to see themselves, and smile,
 And joy in their pre-eminence awhile.

Go, level hills, and fill up seas,
 Spare nought that may your wanton fancy please;
 But, trust me, when you have done all this,
 Much will be missing still, and much will be amiss.'

Horace is to be counted among the fortunate poets. In almost all respects things went well with him. His father seems to have been a wise, laborious, and dutiful man, and to have paid liberally for a careful education bestowed on his son. That his early childhood was passed amid the lovely scenery of Southern Italy, on the borderland of Lucania and Apulia, is also certain. He evidently never forgot those beautiful scenes or the river Aufides, which winds among them to the sea. There, too, was the Fountain of Bandusia, or, as some think, near that Sabine farm in which he passed so many years. If beautiful scenery is a necessary part of a poet's education, as some have said, certainly Horace never lacked it. That it was not thrown away upon him is proved by the extraordinary felicity of his minutest touches when he describes Nature; while it is equally plain that he appreciated the manly and simple ways of the mountain peasantry. He was evidently attached to them, and that they honoured him we cannot doubt. It is hard to say whether we are to give credence to the legend that in his very early childhood he fell into a charmed sleep on Mount Voltore. He records it, however, in his 'Ode to Calliope':—

'Child of the Muse on Voltur's steep
 Beyond Apulia's bounds I strayed;
 Wearied with sport, I sank to sleep.
 Doves, dear to legendary lore,
 From woodlands far fresh flowers and leaflets bore,
 And hid the unconscious infant 'neath their shade.

In myrtles wrapped, close-veiled in bay,
 Secure from snakes and savage beasts I lay,
 A fearless babe, protected from on high,
 Sleeping the innocent sleep of infancy.'

The English 'Babes in the Wood' were thus, it seems, anticipated by the Roman poet. From a very early age to almost the close of his life that life had been a happy one, and happy chiefly because it was a contented one. He seems to have been on the most friendly terms with all the numerous poets of the time, and he regarded none of them with the slightest jealousy, although, like Virgil, he had abstained from themes for which others had received a part of their fame. Whether in the service of the Emperor himself, or of his humblest subjects, Horace seems to have gone on the principle of helping all whom he might help by giving them good counsel, as well as by kindly sympathy.

In recent times the number of honourable additions to Horatian translators has been also considerable, including Lord Lytton, Sir Theodore Martin, Lord Ravensworth, Mr. Conington, Calverley, and others. Among these the highest place seems to be now generally assigned to Sir Stephen E. de Vere by the best judges of classical literature. That is an estimate with which we entirely concur; and that it is a true one we shall endeavour to show by carefully selected quotations from such of these translations as illustrate the very various merits which have been especially attributed to Horace's lyrical poetry. The high estimate in which those translations are now held is the more likely to be a just one because it has been one of gradual growth. It has been thus expressed in a remarkable work, 'The Republic of Letters,' recently published.* Sir Stephen de Vere's translation is there spoken of as 'a unique instance of the inheritance of high poetic power, as shown in the admirable translations of Horace (far the most perfect we possess) of Sir Stephen de Vere.' The late Sir Henry Taylor, author of 'Philip van Artevelde,' expressed himself not less strongly in praise of such among Sir S. de Vere's translations as had been published in his lifetime.

That progressive appreciation which has attended these translations of Horace's 'Odes' appears to have been owing chiefly to the fidelity with which the translator has followed a few intelligible principles, in themselves both philosophical and simple. One of these is the maintenance of a closeness, not to the letter alone of the original, but to something more rare and more difficult than this. If a merely mechanical closeness has the effect of blunting the

* The 'Republic of Letters,' by W. Macneill Dixon, Esq.

meaning and marring the beauty of that original, it cannot claim more than a part of what should belong to a translation really faithful. A higher fidelity has in that case been sacrificed to a lower one; that is certainly not high art. The performance may be a very clever one. It may have been a very difficult one. The reader may marvel at the translator's ingenuity; but if his work does not bring to the English scholar a delight in any real degree analogous to that which the original poem imparted to the Roman, the enterprise is, after all, a failure. The translators of the merely realistic school are like portrait-painters who present us with every pimple or wrinkle that disfigures a fine face, but give us nothing of its meaning or its expression. Such a painter proceeds by a process of addition alone. He adds together all the accidents and oddities of the face, unconnected with what belongs to its essential character, and thus leaves behind but a caricature. The true painter proceeds by an opposite process. He begins with that ideal of the human face which abides habitually in the artistic mind; he subtracts from that ideal as much as is necessary to leave behind the individual; but he also leaves behind as much of that original ideal as suffices to ennoble and to interpret what remains. He cannot, as he well knows, give in his picture all that exists in the face, but he can more than compensate for what is lost. Thus with the translator. He must be a poet. The true poet alone truly understands the poem he translates, and makes it truly intelligible. He knows that what can be effected, writing with the grammar, the vocabulary, and the metres of one language, cannot be effected when writing with those of another time and country. It is not thus that the effect desired by the true translator can be produced. But a strictly analogous effect can be produced, and sometimes even a nobler one, if the language into which the translation is made be the nobler language of the two, and if its metres be the nobler. Sir Stephen quotes three great writers—Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Cardinal Newman—upon the principle on which that translator must write who would be faithful to the spirit, and not merely to the letter, of the original.

Wordsworth writes :—

‘I became convinced that a spirited translation can scarcely be accomplished in the English language without admitting the principle of compensation.’ *

* *Memoirs of Wordsworth*, vol. ii. p. 69.

Coleridge writes:—

‘There is no medium between a prose version and one on the avowed principle of compensation in the widest sense—i.e. manner, genius, *total effect*.’

Sir Stephen quotes thus from Cardinal Newman:—

‘Faithfulness may be considered simply to consist in expressing in English the *sense* of the original. . . . When something must be sacrificed, precision or intelligibility, it is better, in a popular work, to be understood by those who are not critics than to be applauded by those who are.’*

In illustration of the same principles Sir Stephen refers to Chapman, Dryden, Shelley, Boileau, and Bolingbroke. He refers also to Hallam and the saying of Denham: ‘It is not his [the translator’s] business alone to translate language into language, but *poesie* into *poesie*.’ Bolingbroke’s language is very strong:—

‘To translate servilely into modern language an ancient author, phrase by phrase and word by word, is preposterous; nothing can be more unlike the original than such a copy. It is not to show, it is to disguise, the author. . . . A good writer . . . will endeavour to write as the ancient author would have written had he writ in the same language.’

To illustrate those principles on which he most insists a few sentences in the preface on the subject of inversions may be quoted:—

‘This metrical necessity for the largest use of inversions was a misfortune which an English translator does not share. Inversion, in its proper place, may conduce both to dignity and to grace: but it should be used as a rare exception: it can produce no good effect where it has no special meaning; and its occasional charm is lost unless brought out by the contrast of a habitual directness of diction. Many things which we call inversions may, it is true, in another language, follow an order of thought as legitimate as our own; but inversions which obviously follow no law either of thought or imagination involve a great loss of strength in poetry; for poetry requires not only to be understood with clearness, but also with that electrical instantaneousness, in the absence of which there can be no intensity. . . .

‘If the obscurity of Horace is so easily condoned by his admirers, this can only be because it ceases at last for those who have read him so often that they almost know him by heart.

‘The rare exceptions to inversion found in his Odes gain so much by direct diction that they bear conclusive evidence against the rest.

To remedy this evil which probably was not felt by the Romans, is the essential duty of an English translator.'

Those who remember Dryden's stanza which begins

' When Jubal struck the chorded shell,'

or Byron's stanza in his ' Song of a Greek '—

' Ye have the Pyrrhic Dance as yet,'

will not need to be reminded of the immense force imparted to a poem by direct *versus* the inverted diction. A translator of Horace's ' Odes ' must face the fact that as Horace's position gave him advantages which are denied to a translator, that translator has advantages which were denied to Horace; and he must use them, frankly turning to account all the aids afforded to him by the manifold metres of his country, instead of making it his boast that he has added to all the difficulties of translation by joining with them another, in forcing upon his fellow-countrymen metres their acquaintance with which will never be more than superficial, and with which they can never blend the poetic sympathies or associations of their youth.

Before leaving the subject of 'inversion,' exaggerated or misplaced, in connexion with the classical metres, it may be well to remark that it is often the most difficult to avoid inversion and all its evil effects where the theme of an ode is most exalted. This is probably one reason why the ordinary English admirer of Horace is often most indulgent to his inversions where the ode is on the most trivial subject. It is less mischievous there than elsewhere. The greatest odes are those that most need simplicity and directness, to which inversion stands opposed. The truth is that it is not Horace's *greatest* odes that most attract the ordinary reader, whether in the original or the translation. Horace assures us that Pindar is a swan that sweeps from heaven to heaven, while he himself is the bee that buzzes from flower to flower. The comparison is only just when the greatest of Pindar's poems are in question and the least of Horace's. Pindar, too, was often contented with his theme when it was nothing higher than the prize of the wrestler or the runner. If Horace's grandest odes were those most valued by his English admirers, they would quarrel with his inversions more, and admire less the metres forced upon him by the age in which he lived.

It is in dealing with Horace's noblest works that Sir Stephen de Vere insists upon turning to account all the

resources, as well of his country's metres as of her language. He writes in his preface :—

‘ In the case of the more elevated and impassioned lyric metre, the irregular, or, as it is often called, the “ Pindaric,” the poet is dealing with a measure at once far stronger and more flexible than the regular. Lyrical poetry is, and more than any other characterised by sudden changes both of thought and of passion, nay, of transient mood and half-developed emotion. Such changes in their finer movements can only be indicated by irregular metres which adjust themselves spontaneously to every movement of a subtle yet sound imagination, while never subjecting themselves to any mere technical regularity. There is a music in poetic thought; and the harmonies of a metre obedient but to its own interior law can alone be the echo of that music.’ . . . ‘ The irregular metre is an incorrect expression. . . . It is various, not lawless, for all its several parts are harmonious. It is a metre which comprehends the harmonies of all the regular metres combined under a law larger than that with which any one of them is conversant. It is the most expressive of metres; and it falls into confusion only in the hands of those who have nothing to express.’

To that category belong many writers who brought discredit on the Pindaric metre; but our greatest lyrical poets have not failed on that account to avail themselves of the special advantages which it affords when used with a suitable theme. It might have been out of place if used in Wordsworth's ‘ Ode to Duty,’ for which a stern regularity was fitter; but how entirely spoilt would have been his sublimer, while also more impassioned, ‘ Ode on the Intimations of Immortality ’ if he had discarded those irregular lines which mark its manifold changes of mood, or the sudden burst of exultation when we reach those short lines beginning—

‘ O joy that in our embers
Is something that doth live;’

and that solemn repose of peaceful thought when the lengthening cadence announces the poet's great conclusion, that man came from God, and must return to God.

Among the merits of the irregular metre another might have been added in Sir Stephen de Vere's preface—viz. the freedom which it reserves to itself. The regular metre binds itself to remain regular as the poem advances; the irregular binds itself to nothing. Among its many movements, it can at will introduce, as a stanza, some new and peculiar harmony there needed. An example of this metrical transition will be found in Shelley's ‘ Ode to ‘ Naples,’ where a new movement is introduced by the lines,

‘Then gentle winds arose,’ &c., and in Coleridge’s ode entitled ‘Dejection,’ where it follows ‘A tale of less affright,’ &c. The irregular metre is a larger thing than the regular, and therefore includes the lesser one; and when it does this skilfully it practically creates a composite metre.

It would, however, be a mistake to assume that all Sir Stephen de Vere’s translations from Horace are made in an irregular metre. That would have been to have missed one special character of Horace’s shorter odes. These are often by him translated into a regular metre, and the contrast between the two classes thus alike illustrated is a real gain to both. The reason that for a large proportion of Horace’s ‘Odes’ Sir Stephen claims a higher English metre is obviously because he sees more in these odes than other translators had been accustomed to see. The picture of Augustan Rome presented to the thoughtful English reader is thus made far more many-sided than it could otherwise be—a picture more true to the very various elements reconciled and blended at that advanced period of Roman society. Many great periods of Rome’s existence had then passed away. The period when Cincinnatus ‘returned from his wars to follow his plough’ was no more. The period of Marius and Sylla had fought itself out, and died in blood. The great, but vain, attempt of the Gracchi to save the oppressed plebeian order from destruction had failed also; and with it the Rome of old times had perished. A new period was beginning. An empire which possibly might have included all Europe had died when Julius Cæsar fell dead at the base of Pompey’s statue. A new period was*beginning—that of the ‘Pacata Romana.’ But the Emperor Augustus was not, like Julius Cæsar, a soldier, and he intended the empire he founded to be an empire of peace. The perils of war he knew, and perhaps he did not suspect that the perils of a prolonged peace, in connexion with a demoralised condition of society, might eventually prove more dangerous still. The enormous wealth of the Roman nobility and their long habits of idleness, luxury and vice were alike notorious. The manly middle and lower classes of old days had gone by; the great social and political duties of past times were no longer honoured as of old. Slavery had debased the land; slaves tilled it and reaped it; slaves served in the ranks side by side with mercenaries furnished by barbaric races, whose sons had fought with tigers and lions in the amphitheatres after their solemn salutation of the Emperor, ‘Cæsar, morituri te salutant.’ The same barbaric races

at a later time avenged the wrong. They descended upon Rome in force, and drove her degenerate senators into exile, with their arms bound behind their backs. The poet had foreseen the woe. It was in the hope of averting it that Horace, in part at the instigation of the Emperor, wrote his most memorable odes, such as 'Integer vitæ,' 'O Diva,' 'gratum,' 'Parcus Deorum,' 'Justum et tenacem,' 'Cœlo tonantem,' 'Delicta majorum,' 'Ne forte credas,' 'Altera jam teritur.' Few poets have left their country so noble a bequest.

A decided advantage accrues to Sir Stephen de Vere's translations from Horace owing to the circumstance that while the more impassioned and also the more thoughtful among them are translated in that metre which could alone do them justice, those of a humbler character are often presented to us in a humbler metre. The metrical contrast between the two different classes attracts the reader's attention to the corresponding diversity, intellectual, moral and imaginative, between the two classes of his poetry. The variety afforded by modern metres yields opportunities which should not be lost in deference to theories. The English poets owe much to Horace. They are bound to repay the boon. We know that Horace was most justly proud of that chief labour of his life which enabled him to introduce into Rome the best metres of Greece, except the Pindaric. He did not deem that he was slighting his country in thus providing an instrumentality worthy of its poetic genius. It is not thus that the translators of Horace act when they fancy that they would slight him if they translated his 'Odes' in any other metres than those which he himself used. This is not to follow the example of Horace, but an opposite one; for he put aside as irrelevant all considerations except one, viz. what metres are most harmonious and the most worthy of the greatest subjects. The ambition of Augustus was to bequeath to a plundered world an age of peaceful glories, and in that he succeeded, perhaps, more by the aid of Horace than of any one else, except Virgil alone, whose poetry was more high-hearted. The sudden outburst of literature at Rome in the days of Augustus is a thing almost as surprising as the outburst of the higher Greek drama at Athens on the failure of Persia's attempt to enslave Greece.

Had it but lasted, what might not have been the result! What a crowd of great men rose up nearly at the same time or in rapid succession! It is thus that Dean Milman

writes in his 'Life of Horace : ' 'Ennius had been domiciliated ' in the House of the Scipios. . . . Lucilius had been connected with the same family. Lucretius lived in the House ' of the Memmii. Messala was the host of Tibullus.' Among the other men of letters whom he names in conjunction with these are Propertius, Varius, Pollio, Martial, Plautus, and Terence. Had the Roman Empire advanced as it began ! But it was not to be. A revival of Greek song on the Roman soil was apparently among the things of which Shelley had dreamed at one time as a possibility. In his 'Ode to Liberty' he wrote these lines :—

'Palatinus sighed
Faint echoes of Ionian song. That tone
Thou didst delay to hear, lamenting to disown.'

We know not whether Horace had ever read Virgil's 'Pollio,' addressed to the consul of that name, on the birth of his son ; but in it he would have found not poetry alone, but prophecy also—the expression of a craving which was then beginning to possess many minds besides those of poets, a craving for a great and new order of things never before revealed to man. — Dryden prefixed to his translation of Virgil's 'Pollio' a note with the statement that 'many of ' Virgil's verses are translated from a poem by the last of the ' Sibyls, who prophesied of our Saviour's birth some forty ' years before it took place ;' and Pope, in his 'Messiah,' expressed himself as strongly with respect to what he regarded as Virgil's religious intention in his poem of 'Pollio.'* To it Virgil doubtless owed in part the quasi-religious place which in early Christian times he long held among the religious poets, as we know from Dante. The latest of the Sibyl race (those prophets of the pagan world) had held converse, it was reported, with another Roman poet than Horace respecting another child than Pollio's child, and another kingdom than any man had ever seen before, the only kingdom in the building up of which no lawless ambition had ever had a part, and which no latent corruption was destined to smite with premature decay. That kingdom was to be another thing than Plato's Republic, or aught that Solon or Lycurgus had designed. Neither Alexander nor Augustus had whispered of it to bard or sage. Yet, when the Babe was born in Pollio's house (so an early belief affirmed), an inspiration had fallen upon the great poet of the West, † and he had sung a song not wholly unlike one

* 'Teste David cum Sibylla.' 'Dies Iræ.'

† Virgil.

sung many centuries before by the great prophet of the East,* a son of the Hebrew race.

In justice to Sir Stephen de Vere's version of Horace, and not less to that poetic method which proved able to deal worthily with the grander and more heroic of his odes, it may be well to begin our extracts by presenting in its totality a single one of them, '*Altera jam teritur*,' written in his youth, and at the greatest crisis through which his country had ever passed. The passion which breathes through it is the strongest, the most generous, and perhaps the most religious, with which the pagan world was acquainted—viz. that of patriotism. For the illustration of that passion in all its various moods a single metre alone could have proved adequate; and though the irregular one did not exist for Rome, as it did for Greece, yet the metre upon which Horace flung himself when wrestling with the tragic theme of Philippi, where the great Roman Republic fought its last battle and died, reminds us of it in Sir Stephen's version more than in any other of Horace's other odes. The roughness and changefulness so striking in the first three stanzas of it impart to them a rude power essential to their effect. Still more essential to it is the contrast between the last three stanzas, not only with the earlier three, but with each other. The last stanza of all is stillness after storm. The passion has worn itself to rest. The battle of Philippi had probably a permanent effect on Horace's poetry, as, indeed, on his whole life. Part of his poetry has, no doubt, an epicurean character. A larger portion of it might have incurred that reproach but for that great sorrow which fell upon his youth. In age, as in youth, his country was infinitely dear to Horace. But calamity has often proved a stimulus to genius. The failure of the French Revolution was felt by both Wordsworth and Coleridge, in the days of their enthusiastic youth, as a profound personal calamity. It was thus with Alfred Tennyson also. His sorrow was not, however, for his country, but for his friend, and after the lapse of seventeen years that sorrow's monument ascended in '*In Memoriam*,' a work more beautiful even than '*Lycidas*,' because it had been prompted by a greater love and a deeper grief. That nearest of his friends, of whom he wrote,

'More than my brothers are to me,'

in that brief moment of his death had done more for him,

* Isaiah.

and for his genius, than the longest and most devoted life could have done. Unconsciously the poet once confessed as much. While 'In Memoriam' was still in progress he spoke thus to a friend:—'A poem suggested by a great sorrow could not fail to prove a great teacher. It enters a huge dark sphere; it makes its way to the centre of that sphere: if it still works its way on, it will issue forth at last, and meet the new sunrise at the gateway.' It may have been thus with Horace. The ruin of his country fell like a blight upon his youth: but it may have made a man of him.

This poem, historically the most memorable of Horace's life, was much more likely, considering with whom thenceforward political power was invested at Rome, to have marred than mended the fortunes of the poet. His grief seems to have at that time left him indifferent to misfortunes. It is as follows:—

EPODE XVI.

[*Translator's Note.*]

'This impassioned lament was written after the fatal battle of Philippi and the destruction of the Roman Republic. Though little known, it remains a record of that patriotic ardour which belonged to Horace. He foretells the dissolution of Rome, and recommends that the manly spirit, the *pars indocili melior grege*, should follow the example of the Phocæans and abandon Rome.'

'Altera jam teritur.

'Another age ground down by civil strife!
Rome by her children impious and accurst,
Down trampled out of life!
Great Rome, our Rome, our mother—she that erst
Rolled back the Marsian; scattered the array
Of old Etruria's monarch, Porsena;
Humbled the pride of Capua; braved the sword
Of Spartacus; the blue-eyed German horde;
The craft and fury of the Gaul;
And him abhorred by mothers, Hannibal.

Amid her streets—her temples nigh—
The mountain wolf shall unmolested lie;
O'er her cold ashes the Barbarian ride;
The war-horse spurn the tomb
Of Romulus, and from earth's sacred womb
Scatter the dust which storms and suns defied.
How meet this ruin? Swear as swore
The doomed Phocæan race of yore,
To leave their fields, their loved abodes,
The altars of their household Gods,

To tempt new seas, and stretch their sail
 Full-blown before the driving gale :
 Be yours, submissive still to Fate,
 Like them self-sentenced, yet elate,
 Fearless o'er Ocean's trackless waste to fly
 To lands unshamed, and liberty.

Romans ! Is this your will ? Then from the shore
 Launch forth your ships : the Gods approve : obey
 Yon bird of Fate that points the way :—
 But first make oath : swear to return no more !
 Sooner shall rocks rise from their ocean grave
 And float upheaved upon the wave ;
 Sooner shall Padus lave
 Matinus' summit crowned with pine ;
 Sooner shall cloud-capped Apennine
 Rush to the Tyrrhene sea : tigers unite
 With hinds, the ringdove with the kite—
 Than we return. Such, Romans, be your oath !
 Let cowards press their beds of sloth ;—
 Forth, manly spirits, womanish tears disdain ;
 Forsake th' Etruscan shores, and dare the boundless main !

Hence self-devoted go
 Ye who love honour best :—
 Visions of glory rush upon mine eyes :
 Prophetic voices rise :—
 See, see before us distant glow
 Thro' the thin dawn-mists of the West
 Rich sunlit plains and hill tops gemmed with snow,
 The Islands of the Blest !

There the grey olive, year by year,
 Yields its unfailing fruitage ; there the vine
 Ripens, unpruned, its clusters into wine ;
 There figs, ungrafted, their russet harvest grow,
 And fields unploughed their wealth on man bestow ;
 There from the caverned ilex sere
 Wells the wild honey trickling slow ;
 There herds and flocks unbidden bring
 At eve their milky offering ;
 There from the crag's embattled steep
 The laughing waters leap.
 No wolf around the sheepfold striding
 With nightly howls the sleeping lamb affrights ;
 No venomed snakes obscurely gliding
 Sway the tall herbage ; no destroying blights,
 Nor storm, nor flood, nor scorching suns, despoil,
 Such is the will of Jove, the teeming soil.

Blest summer shores untrod
 By Jason or the Colchian sorceress,
 By Tyrian rover, or the wearied crew
 Of sage Ulysses in their dire distress !
 Merciful gift of a relenting God,
 Home of the homeless, preordained for you !
 Last vestige of the age of gold,
 Last refuge of the good and bold,
 From stars malign, from plague and tempest free,
 Far mid the Western waves a secret Sanctuary !'

Not wholly dissimilar in character is the following :—

[*Translator's Note.*]

'This Epode was written B.C. 40, about the same time as the 16th Epode, "*Altera jam teritur.*" The Perusian civil war was breaking out; the Parthians under the renegade Labienus had overrun the Roman provinces in Asia, driving the legions before them; and the combined armies and fleets of Sextus Pompeius and Marcus Antonius threatened the very existence of Rome.

'*Quo, quo, scelesti.*

'Murderers! where rush ye? Why with bloodstained hand
 Grasp ye the fratricidal steel once more,
 The sword late sheathed? Enough of Roman gore
 Darkens each sea, each land:
 Not as of old when the proud citadel
 Of vanquished Carthage fell;
 Not as when gracing Rome's triumphal day
 The fettered Briton trod the Sacred Way;
 But now when Rome crowning the Parthian's prayer
 Bleeds by her own right hand and dies in her despair!'

A kindred subject is treated in the ode which begins '*Delicta majorum.*' Again the inspiration comes from patriotic love; again expresses itself in the form of grief and wrath; and again these agitations find their reflex in the changeful moods of a perturbed and irregular metre.

In the fourth and last stanza the contrast is chiefly that betwixt emotion and reflection, a contrast marked by corresponding metrical fluctuations. Another ode—the longest of the series, and in some respects the most poetical—is the one entitled '*Descende cœlo, Calliope.*' Of this ode Sir Stephen de Vere remarks that in it the poet, by a solemn invocation of the Muses, distinctly asserts his claim to speak as their child, their daily companion, and their ministering priest, notwithstanding that in the earlier part of that ode it is only in a subordinate degree that he fully exercises his rights. It is also only then that the poet brings out his greater powers, and it is not either the poet or the Muses

who are then celebrated, but the gods doing battle with the giants:—

‘ Shuddered the Strong One at the sight
 One moment, when with giant might
 That Earth-born generation strove
 To pile up Pelion on Olympus’ height,
 And scale the Heavens : but what bested
 Rhætus, or Mimas, or Typhoëus dread,
 Porphyryion’s towering form the Gods defying
 Enceladus who as a spear could wield
 Uprooted pines ? Amazed they fled
 Pallas with her echoing shield,
 Queen Juno, Vulcan burning for the fight,
 And him who by Castalia lying
 Bathes in the sacred fount his unbound hair ;
 That God whose shoulders ever bear
 The Cynthian bow ; Phœbus who honours still
 Delos, his natal isle, and Lycia’s bosky hill.

Power, rest of wisdom, falls by its own weight :
 Wisdom, made one with strength, th’ Immortals bless,
 And evermore exalt : they hate
 Tyrannous force untempered, pitiless.
 Diana’s virgin dart
 Drank the black blood of foul Orion’s heart ;
 And hundred-handed Gyas met his doom
 Crushed ’neath the darkness of a living tomb.
 Earth, heaped upon those buried Portents, mourns
 Her monstrous sons. The insatiate flame
 Forever under Etna burns,
 Yet ne’er consumes its quivering frame :
 Forever feasts the vulture brood
 Remorseless upon Tityos’ blood ;
 The lover base, Pirithous, complains
 Forever ’neath the weight of his three hundred chains.’

It often happens that the higher greatness of a poem is hidden from the eyes of men who yet keenly appreciate the merit of another part of it. Lord Byron appreciated the merit of Horace’s grand ode, ‘*Justum et tenacem*,’ so far as its earlier stanzas went—those which describe the great and strong man ; but to the main scope of the poem—viz. the conditions under which a nation becomes great—he was apparently wholly insensible, and accordingly he did not translate the rest of the ode. He tells us that when at school he had suffered great things from Horace, and could not forgive him:—

‘ Farewell, then, Horace, whom I hated so !

Farewell ! Upon Soracte’s ridge we part ! ’

As a matter of political philosophy, however, this is quite among the greatest of Horace's poems. The true poetical beginning of it is not to be found in the lines so often quoted, and which must always retain a chief place in political philosophy. The true beginning is where a great imaginative conception dawns upon it—where Romulus, immediately on his death, in place of descending, like vulgar souls, to the banks of Styx, ascends to heaven wafted by the steeds of his father, Mars, and claims a place among the Immortals. They sit long in silence. At last Juno, their queen, the foe of Mars, rises, and gives her solemn consent to his demand:—

‘ He claimed a throne among the Gods. They sate
Silent: then Juno rose, “ Troy met her fate,
Her God-built walls down-crumbled into dust
By a strange woman and a judge unjust.’ *

The following is the introductory note by the translator:—

‘ *Justum et tenacem.*

‘ This ode, generally designated as Juno's speech, but more correctly entitled by Sir Theodore Martin the Apotheosis of Romulus, commences by a noble panegyric upon the virtues of truth and fearless constancy, and adduces examples drawn from Heroic legends. It records the council of the Gods held to consider whether Romulus, the descendant of Æneas, should be received amongst them. . . . We know from Suetonius and Lucan that a project for rebuilding Troy was entertained at Rome, and it has been asserted that Augustus himself was at one time not averse to it. Horace, with his usual manly independence, and with true political foresight, denounces the scheme in this grand ode.’

The stern eye of the Queen-Goddess had fixed its regard upon Troy from the first. The carrying off of Helen—an immeasurable wrong inflicted upon Greece, the favourite of Juno—was not the earliest of Troy's transgressions. From the first that city had been false. It was a God whose music-strains had raised her walls, and that God had been amerced of his pledged reward. There can be no help for the false and the feeble. Another empire there already existed, which had been founded on fidelity and strength. It was for her and hers that the prize of virtue had been reserved. But why? Because the ‘ men who composed that ‘ empire were ’ men in the sense in which that term was used so many centuries later by the English poet, Sir William

* Laomedon.

Jones, whose famous ode made demand, 'What constitutes 'a State?' and which itself made answer thus: that '*Men* constitute a State!'

But the English poet had been anticipated by a Roman one. Horace here attributed to his country the virtue long hers, and which he longed to restore to her. He addressed her thus in another ode: —

'Great Nation that canst spurn
The gold that in Earth's bosom hidden lies;
(Wisely there hid) unlike the base, who turn
To uses vile of sordid avarice
The Temple's spoil; fearless your hosts send forth
To India's sun-scorched wastes, and the cloud-mantled
North.'

To restore Troy is to seek in gold and guilt a foundation
for empire. This is treason against Rome.

'Strong sons of Rome, to you my law I speak.
Trust not your fortunes or your strength; nor seek,
Blinded by filial piety, once more
The sentenced walls of Ilion to restore.
If e'er again 'neath some ill-omened star
She rises, I, Jove's sister, I, his wife,
'Gainst her will lead the armies of my war
Closing in new-lit flames her new-lit life.'

That attempt is fated to fail because the permanence of a nation's greatness is founded on individual greatness. It is not in the many only that greatness is to be found. It is to be found in the individual man. While one great man remains there is hope for the land:—

'The righteous man, of purpose fixed and strong,
Scorns the depraved commands
Of angry Faction clamouring for wrong,
Nor fears the Despot's frown. Not Auster's roar
Whitening the restless wave on Adria's shore,
Not the red thunder hurled
From Jove's avenging hands
Can shake his solid will. Unmoved he stands
Erect amid the ruins of a world.'

Rome had triumphed over Antony and Cleopatra. The patriot poet did not forbid that triumph. On the contrary, he shared it. But he alone remembered at that hour that a true poet and a true patriot owes graver duties to his country than that of merely rejoicing with her in her triumphs. He has to teach her to venerate fallen greatness

also. It is thus that Horace celebrated the death of Cleopatra. Prosperity had debased her: calamity had ennobled her.

‘ She sought no refuge on a foreign shore.
 She sought her doom: far nobler ’twas to die
 Than like a panther caged in Roman bonds to lie.
 The sword she feared not. In her realm once more,
 Serene amongst deserted fanes,
 Unmoved ’mid vacant halls she stood;
 Then to the aspic gave her darkening veins,
 And sucked the death into her blood.

Deliberately she died: fiercely disdained
 To bow her haughty head to Roman scorn,
 Discrowned, and yet a Queen; a captive chained;
 A woman desolate and forlorn.’

The circumstance that irregular lyrical metres lend themselves better than regular to the expression of patriotic passion is no reason for our assuming that they are not also fit to deal with humbler themes, no reason why they cannot yield us such an *elegy* as this:—

TO VIRGIL: ON THE DEATH OF QUINCTILIUS.

Quis desiderio.

Blush not for tears in ceaseless sorrow shed
 For one so loved. Melpomene, inspire
 The dirge low-breathed, the sobbing lyre,
 And pour from sacred lips the anthem of the dead.

Wrapped in the sleep of death
 Quinctilius lies. Ah, when shall spotless Faith,
 And Truth, and Modesty, and Justice, find
 A heart so pure, so constant, and so kind?

He died bewailed by all, but most by thee,
 My Virgil, who with loving piety
 Forever dost the Gods implore
 Quinctilius, lent not given, to restore.

Ah, fruitless prayer! not even thy hallowed tongue,
 Sweet as the magic lute by Orpheus strung
 That charmed the woods, could wake the dead once more,
 And through cold phantom veins the living current pour.

Hermes, he whose fatal wand
 Relentless leads the shadowy band,
 Mocks at our vows. What then remains!
 The strength that Fate itself disdains;

The soul to Fortune's worst resigned ;
Th' unconquered heart, and equal mind.

A dirge of a wholly different sort is that which Horace breathed over Archytas when shipwrecked in the plenitude of wisdom and manifold knowledge, and lying on the sea-shore with no reverent hand to sprinkle over him that sea-sand believed to make the departed mariner free of the milder abodes of the dead—

TO ARCHYTAS.

Te maris et terræ.

Archytas ! on the bleak Matinian shore
Beneath a scanty drift of shingle lie
Thy bones unburied. What avails it now
To thee, that thou could'st mete the sea, the land,
The wastes of broad illimitable sand ?

That with all-grasping vision thou
Could'st count the stars, th' aerial depths explore ?
What profit this to thee fated so soon to die ?

One night awaits us all, and all must tread
The road unknown, the pathway of the dead.
On some by Furies driven the War-God bends
A glance that kills : o'er some the storm-blast sends
The cold embrace of the insatiate wave.

The young, the agèd, throng the grave.
Alike on hoary head and golden braid
The pitiless hand of Proserpine is laid.

Me, too, the Southern storm
Following Orion's downward course malign
Whelmed in the Illyrian brine.

Pause, sailor, pause ; and o'er my naked form
And strengthless head,

A pittance of poor sand in reverence shed :
Sailor, beware !

Not unavenged shall fall my slighted prayer.
Thy babes shall rue thy sin ! No sacred rite
Shall on the horror of thy night
Vouchsafe one healing beam of expiatory light.

Stay, stranger, stay !

Let fall with pious hand

A three-fold gift of sacrificial sand,
Then take thy way.'

One of the noblest among Horace's odes is that which bears the title of 'Odi profanum vulgus et arceo.' It is, indeed, but poorly represented by the few specimens for which we can here find room.

' Odi profanum.

' Away, ye herd profane !
Silence ! let no unhallow'd tongue
Disturb the sacred rites of song,
Whilst I, the High Priest of the Nine,
For youths and maids alone entwine
A new and loftier strain.

The lord of wide domains
Unsated still his ample bound disdains,
And through the bosom of the deep
Drives the huge mole, down-flinging heap on heap.
The finny race behold the new-born land
Amazed, see towers arise, and fields expand,
And 'mid his hireling crew th' usurper stand.
Proudly he stands ; but at his side
Terror still dogs the steps of pride :
Behind the horseman sits black Care,
And o'er the brazen trireme bends Despair.

Sleep hovers with extended wing
Above the roof where Labour dwells ;
Or where the river, murmuring,
Ripples beneath the beechen shade ;
Or where in Tempe's dells

No sound but Zephyr's breath throbs through the silvan glade.'

A similar note is struck in the following ode, but in a milder measure :—

' Th' ancestral salt-vase shines with lustre clear,
Emblem of olden faith and hospitable cheer ;
Nor greed, nor doubt, nor envy's curses deep
Disturb his innocent sleep.
Why waste on doubtful issues life's short years ?
Why hope that foreign suns can dry our tears ?
The Exile from his country flies,
Not from himself, nor from his memories.

Care climbs the trireme's brazen sides ;
Care with the serried squadron rides ;
Outstrips the cloud-compelling wind
And leaves the panting stag behind :
But the brave spirit, self-possess,
Tempers misfortune with a jest,
With joy th' allotted gift receives ;
The gift denied to others frankly leaves.

A chequered life the Gods bestow :
Snatched by swift fate Achilles died :
Time-worn Tithonus, wasting slow,
Long wept a death denied :

A random hour may toss to me
Some gifts, my friend, refused to thee.

A hundred flocks thy pastures roam :
 Large herds, deep-uddered, low around thy home
 At the red close of day :
 The steed with joyous neigh
 Welcomes thy footstep : robes that shine
 Twice dipt in Afric dyes are thine.
 To me kind Fate with bounteous hand
 Grants other boon ; a spot of land,
 A faint flame of poetic fire,
 A breath from the Æolian lyre,
 An honest aim, a spirit proud
 That loves the truth, and scorns the crowd.'

Still more spirit-stirring, however, is 'Cœlo tonantem,' as often named 'Regulus.' Among Horace's odes none better deserves to be known. The 'prefatory note' is to this effect:—

'An appeal had been made to the Roman Senate for the ransom of the survivors of the army of the Consul Crassus, conquered by the Parthians, and enslaved in many parts of the East. Horace in that ode insists on the ignominy of the proposed treaty, and cites the noble address of Regulus, who sacrificed his life by dissuading the Romans from ransoming their fellow-countrymen enslaved at Carthage.'

'With warning voice of stern rebuke
 Thus Regulus the Senate shook :
 He saw, prophetic, in far days to come,
 The heart corrupt, and future doom of Rome.
 "These eyes," he cried, "these eyes have seen
 Unbloodied swords from warriors torn,
 And Roman standards nailed in scorn
 On Punic shrines obscene ;
 Have seen the hands of freeborn men
 Wrenched back and bound ; th' unguarded gate ;
 And fields our war laid desolate
 By Romans tilled again."

From the chaste kiss, and wild embrace
 Of wife and babes he turned his face,
 A man self-doomed to die ;
 Then bent his manly brow, in scorn,
 Resolved, relentless, sad, but stern,
 To earth, all silently ;
 Till counsel never heard before
 Had nerved each wavering Senator ;
 Till flushed each cheek with patriot shame,
 And surging rose the loud acclaim :—
 Then, from his weeping friends, in haste,
 To exile and to death he passed.

He knew the tortures that Barbaric hate
 Had stored for him. Exulting in his fate
 With kindly hand he waved away
 The crowds that strove his course to stay.
 He passed from all, as when in days of yore,
 His judgement given, thro' client throngs he pressed
 In glad Venafrian fields to seek his rest,
 Or Greek Tarentum on the Southern shore.'

In this ode the translator has for the most part used a regular metre; but the contrast to the rest afforded by the last two stanzas enhances the effect of the poem taken as a whole. Another of Horace's Odes, the 'Ne forte credas,' more often quoted under the name of 'Lollius,' to be appreciated must be read as a whole. Its character is stateliness, not passion:—

Ne forte credas.

'Think not, my Lollius, that these strains can die;
 Strains linked by arts unknown before
 With chords of lyric harmony
 Which from far-sounding Aufidus I bore
 Where foams the mountain flood down to the Adrian shore.

The poet dies not. Homer reigns alone;
 Divine Alcæus clangs his vengeful lyre:
 Stesichorus still chaunts in graver tone;
 And Pindar's glowing hymns the soul inspire.
 The generations pass away,
 But spare Anacreon's sportive lay;
 And love still breathes where Sappho sings,
 And still the soul of rapture clings
 To the wild throbbings of th' Æolian strings..

Not Spartan Helen, false and fair,
 By passion blinded, driven by Fate,
 First loved a stranger's braided hair,
 His golden robes, his princely state;
 And, lost to shame, to honour dead,
 From home, from country, fled:

Not Hector, not Deiphobus,
 Died first their wives, their babes, to guard;
 Idomeneus and Sthenelus
 Not first defied the foemen's sword:
 Not Teucer first bent the Cydonian bow;
 Nor once alone Troy's god-built walls lay low.

A race of heroes brave and strong
 Before Atrides fought and died;
 No Homer lived; no sacred song
 Their great deeds sanctified:

Obscure, unwept, unknown they lie,
 Opprest with clouds of endless night :
 No poet lived to glorify
 Their names with light.
 Virtue from human eye concealed,
 Unsung, unhonoured, unrevealed,
 Like buried sloth forgotten dies.
 Thy toils, my Lollius, shall defy
 Oblivion pale, foul obloquy ;
 Thy fame shall live, and star-like rise
 On songs immortal blazon penned
 By me, thy Poet, and thy friend.

Thine is the strenuous will, the constant mind,
 The soul serene in calm or storm resigned :—
 CONSUL FOR LIFE ! for, while one pulse survives,
 In thee the Roman Consul's spirit lives,
 Spirit of justice, which disdains
 The fraudulent wile, the miser's gains,
 The proffered bribe ; which loves the light,
 Scorns the expedient, grasps the right ;—
 Spirit heroic, which when foes
 Unnumbered round the legion close,
 Measures the peril with untroubled eye,
 And bursts through circling hosts to victory.

Who dwells on earth supremely blest ?
 Not he of wealth and power possest ;
 But he alone to whom is given
 Wisdom to use the gifts of Heaven ;
 Who fears to sin, but not to die,
 Most rich when steeped in poverty,
 Exulting when his native land,
 Or friends beloved, his life demand.'

We have remarked that there is no reason why a regular metre should not suit some poetic subjects, though not generally the greatest, as well as an irregular one. Sir Stephen de Vere has selected regular metres for not a few of his translations, especially from Horace's shorter odes, though he has preferred the irregular for his nobler. In this matter translators have often made a serious mistake, confounding together two very different things—viz. a translation into English from the classical languages alone, or from the classical languages and classical metres also. The former has often proved successful; the latter seldom. Collins' 'Ode to Evening' is a beautiful poem, but it is not a translation, and does not aim at being one. The fact is that there is a strong sympathy between the mind poetic and poetic metre, for the simple

reason because metre is not a mechanical thing, but a thing at once intellectual, moral and musical. In a true poem the mind, the heart, and the ear commonly work conjointly and sympathetically. Such a triple union is by necessity a difficult matter, and it is by no means a wise thing to add to that difficulty by adding to its arbitrary character; for which reason, while many a man with but a small poetic equipment may write poetry with at least a certain degree of success, a man with the intellect and imagination of a Bacon or of a Jeremy Taylor often fails wholly for want of a metrical ear. Alfred Tennyson greatly admired Browning, and called him the most hard-headed of poets; while another admirer said of him, 'He is a true poet, but was 'near being none. He thinks in shorthand, and his ear is 'seldom in sympathy with his thought.

We speak, of course, exclusively of the classical lyrical metres, for as regards the hexameter no one can question its immense grandeur. As to its fitness to be used by a translator, that is another question. England has not been fortunate in the chief metres used by her translators. Few will say that Pope made a wise choice in selecting the 'Heroic couplet,' the favourite metre of an artificial age, when translating Homer into English verse.—Homer, the most simple of all poets, and the most free on the one hand from the epigrammatic style, and on the other from the inflated. As few will affirm that where a translation is false to the spirit of the original, fidelity to the letter can compensate for the defect; Keats, in his famous 'Sonnet on 'looking into Chapman's "Homer,"' tells us where was found a translator for Homer's 'Iliad.' The best translator of his 'Odyssey' is Philip Stanhope Worsley. We possess one very remarkable English hexameter poem, viz. Coleridge's 'Hymn to the Earth,' and another poem by him in a classical metre, and with much charm about it, which begins :

'High and embosomed in congregated laurels.'

The poet was successful in both those poems because, although in writing them he submitted for sport to the metrical laws of a remote place and time, he surrendered nothing besides, and claimed an entire freedom for his own imagination and intellect. If he had claimed less he would have worked 'sine numine,' and the result would have been something cold and constrained, unmusical and unnatural. Not a few even of Horace's metres are very inferior to the rest—at least if Latin was pronounced in his time as it is now, a subject on which we are very imperfectly informed.

Sir Henry Taylor used to call some metres occasionally found in Moore's poetry, such as

‘The time I lost in wooing,
In watching and pursuing,’ &c.

‘saltatory metres.’ He affirmed also that they were too arbitrary to be musical. So were several of the ancient metres, though wholly unlike them in all things else. Another reason for the failure which has generally followed a servile imitation of classic metres is their artificial and elaborate character. For an ear accustomed to the simplicity of our English metres, to their quietude, their continuity, their long and inwoven harmonies, their comparative absence of the abrupt and the conventional, translation based on the retention of the classical metres is unsatisfactory. We cannot afford to make mistakes in this matter of metres. We have much to be grateful for; and if we prove ungrateful in deference to whim, we shall repent it too late, when we have lost the skill with which our English metres were written of old. The truth is that our metres are better than the metres of the old Romans. Our ballad metres are admirable from their simplicity and pathos. Our Blank Verse comprehends a multitude of metres in one—the meditative blank verse, the dramatic, the idyllic; these are all of them essentially different metres, though called by a single name. There is the Spenserian stanza, and the cognate stanza metres, including six, seven, and eight lines in each. There is the magnificent Italian ‘Rima,’ immortalised by Dante. These metres combine a greater freedom, a greater spirituality, a greater variety, a greater pathos, and a greater seriousness than the metres of the ancient world.

It is a mistake to think that the loftier forms of versification are suitable only to philosophical or impassioned themes. On the contrary, they are especially fitted by their imitative harmonies both for descriptive poetry, and for that which is most eminently human-hearted. An example of this will be found in Sir Stephen de Vere's versification of ‘O fons ‘Bandusiæ,’ and not less in other descriptive passages in which the sound is the echo of the sense:—

‘*O fons Bandusiæ.*

‘Fount of Bandusia, crystal spring,
To thee with wine and flowers I bring
A kid whose budding horns prepare
For wanton gambols, or for war:—
Prepare in vain! His victim blood
Shall stain thy pure and gelid flood.

When the red Dogstar flames on high
 It harms thee not. Th' o'er-laboured steer
 And panting herds that wander by,
 Draw from thy loving breast draughts cool and clear.

Thou too, O sacred spring,
 Shalt have thy place with founts long-loved, far-known;
 Whilst I, thy poet, sing
 The ilex hoar thy margin shadowing,
 The runnels from thy moss-grown caves that flow
 Whispering in murmurs light and low
 A language all their own.'

In the last stanza the metre is far more true to the sounds of nature than any ancient metre could be.

In the following ode the descriptive is finely blended with the mythological :—

' Quo me, Bacche.

' Whither through wastes unscanned by mortal eye
 Bear'st thou me, Bacchus; through what paths untrod?
 Evoc! spare me! spare thy votary
 Filled with the fierce, swift, spirit of the God.

From what deep cavern to the listening pines
 Great Caesar's anthemed triumph must I fling,
 And point his star amid celestial signs?—
 A portent strange, a mystery, I sing!

I wandered, lost: a vision on me fell:
 A glory bursting from the broad-rimmed sun
 Smote with strong light the phantom-haunted dell:
 Then thro' the reddening fir-stems distant shone

Green fields, and sparkling banks, and rivers deep—
 Mine eyes were opened! motionless I gazed;
 As some Bacchantè starting from her sleep
 On thunder-riven mountain stares amazed

At snow-clad plains of Thrace beneath her spread,
 And Rhodope with all its barbarous horde,
 And Hebrus foaming o'er his rocky bed.
 Hear me, Lenæan Bacchus! hear me, lord

Of Mænads, and the Naiad race whose floods
 With mighty arms down rugged gorges bear
 Uprooted oaks, the monarchs of the woods:
 Lead on, resistless God! I know not fear:

Peril is sweet near thee, when o'er thy brow
 The bleeding grape and glistening ivy twine.
 Soft notes, and dulcet lays beseech not now;
 I chant immortal Pæans, hymns divine.'

The modern world is justly proud of the great importance which it has imparted to descriptive poetry and the skill with which it has treated that form of verse. Certainly it has painted to more advantage than men had ever painted before the walls of man's earthly dwelling-place. The ancients took a view of Nature very different from the moderns. They regarded it chiefly in subordination to man, his works, his ways, his affections, and his beliefs; and such a poem as that quoted above makes us feel that that is no unworthy way of representing Nature, though it is far from being the only way. Our next quotation shall be a political one.

[*Translator's Note.*]

'The opinions of commentators differ as to the date and purpose of this ode. There can be little doubt that it is a political allegory, and the more probable date is about B.C. 38, when a fierce naval war was waged between Octavius Cæsar and Sextus Pompeius, the fleet of the former having been twice defeated. It is a dissuasion against renewed war.'

'O navis.

'Ship of the State, beware!
Hold fast the port. Cling to the friendly shore;
Lest sudden storms, and whirling eddies bear
Thy shattered hull to faithless seas once more.

See how the rower faints upon his oar!
Hark to the groaning of the mast
Sore stricken by the Libyan blast!
Thy shrouds are burst; thy sails are torn;
And through thy gaping ribs forlorn
The floods remorseless pour.

Dare not to call for aid on powers divine;
Dishonoured once they hear no more:
Nor boast, majestic pine,
Daughter of Pontic forests, thy great name,
Old lineage, well-earned fame,
The honours of thy sculptured prow:—
Sport of the mocking winds, nor feared, nor trusted now!
Alas, my country, long my anxious care,
Source now of bitter pain, and fond regret!
Thy stars obscured, thy course beset
By rocks unseen, beware!
Trust not soft winds and treacherous seas
Or the false glitter of the Cyclades.'

This poem proves that Horace had severe patriotic anxieties in his later as in his earlier days. It is probable that he was never long without them. Horace had a pro-

found conviction that the fortunes of a nation were as her merits were, and he never flattered his country by concealing from her his conviction that her offences were great and grievous.

'Quem tu, Melpomene.

'When on the Poet's birth
Melpomene looked down with placid eye
She gave him but one gift, the gift of Poesy.
The Poet scorns the glories of the earth,
The athlete's strength, the runner's speed :—
Never shall fiery steed
Bear him a victor in the Achaian car ;
Never shall Rome for mighty deeds in war
Crown him with laurels in the Capitol,
And with one voice, one heart extol
Him who his country's foes defied
And smote the Despot in his pride.

But him, the Bard, rich Tibur's sparkling rills,
And waving tresses of thick-wooded hills,
With thousand voices clear and strong
Proclaim the monarch of *Æolian* song.
Me, me,—henceforth less galled by Envy's tongue—
The world's great mistress lifts amid her choir,
The honoured master of the Roman lyre.

Pierian maid, whose vocal art
Tempers the sweet clang of the golden shell,
Goddess, who might'st impart
To Ocean's voiceless tribes the swan's expiring knell,
If still I sing, and still such strains as mine
Can please, Melpomene, the gift is thine.'

To this poem an English metre imparts a pathos which a Latin one could never have bestowed. This is only one proof among many supplied by this volume that the merit or demerit of a translation from classical poetry depends far more on other things than on the use of classical metres in a language for which they were not intended. It may also be regarded as a farewell—Horace's grateful adieu to that one of the Muses who, though little given to smiling, had never failed to smile upon him.

ART. VII.—1. *Report of the Royal Commission on Vivisection.*
London : 1876.

2. *Cruelty to Animals Act*, 1876.

3. *Return of the Number of Experiments performed on Living Animals in 1897 and 1898.* London : 1898 and 1899.

4. *The Essentials of Experimental Physiology.* T. G. BRODIE, M.D. London : 1898.

5. *Physiological Cruelty, or Fact and Fancy.* ‘Philanthropos.’ London : 1883.

6. *Bacon’s Novum Organum.*

7. *Life of William Harvey.* Dr. MONK (Roll of College of Physicians. 2nd Edition. Vol. 1). 1879.

8. *Report of Church Congress, Folkestone.* London : 1892.

THE method of investigation into the phenomena of life, popularly known as vivisection, has been in this country under more or less acrimonious discussion for twenty-four years. The report of the Royal Commission appointed in 1875 opens thus :—

‘ We find that until a comparatively recent period physiology—the science which treats of the phenomena presented by living animals—had been for some time past but little cultivated in this country, but that there has been of late years a great movement in advance. This movement is not special to physiology, but embraces physics, chemistry, pathology, and all the other branches of physical science. . . . There is then . . . what has been termed a great scientific revival.’

All along the line teaching began about thirty years ago to be made as far as possible practical. Students were no longer allowed to work things up from books only, to pass examinations by dint mainly of a good memory. They were expected to show that they did positively know something of chemistry, physics, pathology, and physiology, something which could not be learnt from books, which necessitated a direct personal training in experimental methods. A very strong feeling was excited in the country against experimental physiology, and it must be admitted that abuses had grown up in the work of individuals. It was recognised that if the method was to be widely extended it needed careful overlooking, and to be subjected to such checks as might be found necessary to prevent the increase or even the continuance of such abuses. The Royal Commission recommended, in effect, that experiments upon living animals

should only be done by skilled and approved persons, and that their work should be under inspection. They admitted the necessity for experimental research and its immense value, and they urged that every care should be taken to minimise the resulting suffering.

‘Our conclusion, therefore, is, that it is impossible altogether to prevent the practice of making experiments upon living animals for the attainment of knowledge applicable to the mitigation of human suffering or the prolongation of human life. . . . That the greatest mitigations of human suffering have been in part derived from such experiments. . . . That the abuse of the practice by inhuman and unskilful persons is justly abhorrent to your Majesty’s subjects generally, not least so to the most distinguished physiologists and the most eminent physicians and surgeons; and that the support of these eminent persons, as well as of the general public, may be confidently expected for any reasonable measures intended to prevent abuse.’

The Cruelty to Animals Act of 1876 was based on the report of the Commission. There has been no evidence of the Act having been evaded. Physiologists do not for the most part like it, for the regulations imposed on them give trouble and take time;—but they have submitted loyally, and on the whole it has been less unpopular than it was expected to be. The agitation, however, in favour of the total abolition or still further restriction of experimental physiology has not altogether subsided, and it is proposed to introduce into the House of Commons a bill to amend the Act of 1876 in the direction of still further stringency. The proposals made by the promoters of the amending bill will more conveniently be studied later.

It is necessary, in the first place, to look at the subject somewhat broadly. A particular method of studying vital problems is under discussion. What is the judgement of well-informed and reasonable people as to its merits or demerits, its value or its worthlessness? Is the method one which can be justified by humane and sympathetic people, or is it not? No one should attempt to answer these questions without a distinct mental conception, which should accord with the facts of the case and not be evolved solely from his own imagination, of what he means by the words ‘vivisection,’ ‘pain,’ ‘torture,’ ‘medical science,’ and ‘cruelty.’ It is impossible to think clearly unless all these terms are taken out of the cloudy atmosphere of rhetoric and looked at calmly till their meaning becomes visible. If we do this, it is seen that ‘vivisection’ means ‘the cutting up or dissecting of living animals.’ It ought not to include the prick of a needle or

even so slight a cutting operation as vaccination. It certainly does not include any feeding operation or the giving of drugs by the mouth or under the skin. 'Pain' does not lend itself readily to definition. To say it is an unpleasant sensation conveyed to the brain by the sensory nerves and received by the brain is, perhaps, as nearly correct as any definition is likely to be. 'Torture' means severe and prolonged pain. 'Medical science' is that which is positively known as to the structure and functions of the bodily organs, their disturbances, and the true methods of correcting those disturbances. The word 'science' means *real* knowledge, not theory or imaginative guessing. 'Cruelty' refers to the attitude of mind of the person who gives pain. It is only pain given needlessly and uselessly that is 'cruel.' Pain given for a beneficent purpose is not cruel. 'The whole creation groaneth and travaileth together;' pain is part, and a large part, of the life of all sentient creatures and of the economy of the universe. The birth of every child, at any rate under the conditions which prevail in civilised races, causes to the mother severe and prolonged pain, but we do not think of it as cruelty. It is not useless or purposeless. Cruelty begins when pain is inflicted without adequate cause. It is a misapplication of language to call the spider cruel for catching flies, the cat for living upon mice and birds, or man for killing and eating sheep, chickens, or whitebait. In each of these cases the pain given is not purposeless, and it is therefore not cruel. When the purpose of pain is transferred from the advantage of the one who inflicts it to the advantage of others, when pain is given not merely to satisfy a craving appetite or a natural animal instinct, but from the higher motive of desiring to be able to relieve the sufferings of others, it cannot be more cruel than it was in the former case. By becoming less selfish it must be less ignoble and further removed from cruelty. It is, however, possible that pain given at first for a motive which justifies it may in time and with the deadening effect of custom degenerate into cruelty. The wild beast is closely related to all of us. Cruelty cannot be said to be foreign to the nature of even civilised human beings. It has to be guarded against, in most people, as a bad possibility. The cat may play with the mouse and enjoy its terror and suffering, and in so far as it does so it is cruel. If a physiologist or a surgeon enjoys giving pain, instead of only giving what is inevitable to attain a beneficent end, he is cruel, but not otherwise. If it be true that from our

position among animals cruelty is not far away from us, no one should dare to say in his heart, 'I could not be cruel.' History is full of the terrible possibilities of cruelty seen in otherwise right-minded persons. Quite a short time ago harmless old women were burnt to death as witches, Non-conformists were tied to stakes and drowned by the incoming tide, and prisoners were tortured by methods which now we can scarcely bear to imagine or describe.

Even at the present time, and in this country, over 28,000 cases of cruelty to children were investigated last year by Mr. Waugh's society. The number of children involved was nearly 76,000. In 2,873 cases the society's warning was disregarded, the offenders were prosecuted, and in over 2,700 cases the charges were proved in court. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals procured the conviction of 2,503 persons for gross cruelty in the first third of the present year. At the same rate the convictions for the year would amount to 7,509.

It must be remembered also that the whole trend of educational influences at the present time is to make pain of as little account as may be. Great part of the training of the young is specially concerned with the developement of fortitude, and this implies the power of putting up with and making light of pain. Boys are expected to bear without grumbling many things that hurt them considerably. Girls, in a less degree, are now in school playgrounds and hockey fields, learning the same lesson, and with beneficial results. In boys and girls alike we recognise that character gains by the developement of endurance and fortitude, and that to take pain lightly is a finer thing than to shrink from it as the worst of evils. The same influence is continued later on in life. In the hunting-field, in mountain-climbing, at Henley and Putney, in football matches and in the cricket-ground, there are endless demands upon the qualities which are summed up as 'pluck.' The mountaineer endures frost-bite and other evils, the football player often gets a broken nose or shoulder, the oarsman rows out his race and faints at the winning-post. They all brave acute pain, which not rarely leaves its mark for life. But, in spite of this, no wise person wishes to see healthy young men shrink from efforts of the kind on account of the immediate suffering or possible risk of damage. The suffering and risk are the price paid for a more important benefit, the developement of fortitude—that is, the power of holding on to the work in hand in spite of pain, and almost to the

extent of ignoring the fact of pain. Every one recognises the value of this quality in soldiers. But they have no monopoly of heroism ; it is wanted everywhere, and by those who put character in the forefront of what education should aim at producing, the training which makes for development of self-control and heroism is accepted as the best for individuals and for the nation.

It has, however, to be admitted that fortitude, like everything else in this complex world, has its drawbacks. The possession of endurance—i.e. the power of taking pain somewhat lightly—tends to make the giving of pain less difficult than it would be to a person who could see nothing in the world more important than pain. One who is himself ready to endure when necessary does not encourage other people or other animals ‘to make a fuss about nothing,’ as he would mentally put it to himself. He tends to discount their pain as well as his own. This is probably in the main useful, so far as it regards his fellow-humans, who are more often harmed and broken down by excessive sympathy than by the absence of demonstrations of sympathy. It does most of us good to be expected to be brave. The kindest thing we can do for those who have much to bear is to sustain their courage or spirit and to nourish their fortitude. But in the case of animals, with whom, at the best, spiritual contact and the influence of mind upon mind are so much more imperfect than they are between man and man, the result of the man’s own discipline in fortitude may, undoubtedly, be to make him shrink less than he should from giving pain to the creatures who have nothing, so far as we know, to gain from enduring it.

It is also probable that the sympathy which is born of imagination is not specially developed by concentration of mind on the search for the facts of physiology. The whole desire of a physiologist is to reach the ultimate truths of life in every direction. The power of realising mentally that which is not under direct observation is imagination, and it is not cultivated with at all the same assiduity as the power of observing.

There is, then, a combination of influences all tending to make it possible for physiologists to lapse into carelessness as to the infliction of pain. It is not surprising if in a certain proportion of cases a disregard of the suffering involved in the experimental study of physiology is the result of such a combination.

It is impossible to deny that both in England and on

the Continent much that can only be described as reckless disregard of pain has been shown by some physiologists. No one can read the descriptions of Majendie's operations and very many others without recognising, though we do not know precisely how to compare suffering in the lower members of the animal world with what we know to be pain in our own more developed nervous systems, that suffering there doubtless was, and that it was often inflicted in a cruel and reckless spirit. The practical points to consider are, however, not what has been done in the past and by individuals, but whether, looking at the search for physiological truth as a whole, under existing conditions and as aided by anæsthetics, the experimental method can now be followed without cruelty, or whether it should be absolutely condemned. Certain elementary facts of physiology must be accepted as proved before this question can be settled. In the first place, it is certain that pain, as has been said in attempting to define it, is an impression conveyed to the brain by the nerves. It is not a property of the nerves themselves, or even of the brain apart from the nerves. Even the brain feels only what is brought to it by the nerves. If the brain be destroyed, or the connexion between the sensory nerves and the brain be interrupted, pain is impossible. There is no such thing as pain to an animal or man after cutting off the head or cutting through the upper part of the spinal cord, or crushing it, as when a criminal is hanged. Then, again, it is certain that even in the higher animals, and to a greater extent in the lower ones, many actions can be, and are, performed after the head is removed, without consciousness, and, therefore, without feeling. An impression made upon sensory nerves is conveyed towards the brain, but when its upward progress is stopped by the spinal cord having been severed, or the brain destroyed, the sensory impression is conveyed or 'reflected' through the cord to the motor nerves, and movements result which seem to the onlooker to indicate pain, though they are really entirely automatic and apart from consciousness. So that 'signs of pain' in an animal are absolutely misleading when its brain is away, or when it is benumbed by an anæsthetic, or when its spinal cord is severed. Then, again, it is certain that the sensation of pain is far smaller in the less intelligent animals than in the more intelligent, and that in all animals it is less than in man. Horses, for instance, are relatively to their size stupid animals. A horse with a compound fracture of the

leg, while waiting for the knacker to kill it, will often be found standing on its three legs quietly grazing and even moving about. To a human being the smallest movement of a broken bone produces pain of such an agonising character that voluntary motion and eating a meal would be quite impossible. A thoroughbred horse, again, feels pain far more than does a horse with no breeding. The perception of pain both in humans and animals differs, probably, almost as much as does the perception of sound. What we call 'an ear for music' is almost an added sense in some people as compared with others. Even in animals of relatively high intelligence, such as dogs and monkeys, there seems to be reason to think their perception of pain is much less acute than in humans. After serious operations under chloroform they are often frisking about a few minutes after recovering consciousness, and even jumping from the floor on to the operating-table in a way which forbids the notion that they are then suffering. In all animals the skin is probably less sensitive than the human skin is. It is covered with insensitive hair, and though, no doubt, more sensitive than any other part of the body, it is presumably on a quite different plane of sensitiveness to the human skin. In human beings the sensitiveness of the internal organs is very small as compared with that of the skin. Examples of this are familiar to every one. While in health no one knows anything of his 'inside;' he has no sensations from it. Even disease of a very serious kind can, and often does, go on for years in the internal organs without causing any sensation. The nerves of the internal organs are much more concerned with regulating functions and controlling the size of the blood-vessels than with the conveyance of sensory impressions to the brain. Life would, in fact, be unbearable if the functions of animal life in a normal condition caused sensation, and they would cause it if the organs were richly supplied with sensory nerves. Every surgeon knows, for example, that the human intestine is, when its muscular coat is at rest, almost as insensitive as the hair or nails. In the operation of opening the intestine, often required in the presence of malignant disease, the cut in the skin and the business of fixing the gut to the skin would be very painful, and deep anæsthesia is required. Two days later, when the gut in its new position has to be opened, the patient is told to shut his eyes, and he feels nothing—he does not even wince—while a wound nearly two inches long is made in the intestinal wall with either knife or hot

iron. This has been proved by many hundreds of cases, and certainly it is not to be explained as due to stoicism on the part of the patient. Other important operations have been done without anæsthesia except for the skin cut, and without giving rise to suffering of at all a severe kind. It is most improbable that even the highest of the lower animals would feel pain where man feels none. On the contrary, from their smaller brain developement, they probably always are less sensitive than man.

Then, as regards the pain of the healing of wounds, it should be remembered that this varies immensely with the skill of the surgeon and with the perfection of his methods for keeping the wound aseptic. When he succeeds in this there is very little pain, even in human beings; after operations which involve a large skin incision one dose of morphia will usually tide the patient over the first few hours, and later on there is no pain worth mentioning. When pain is great the day after an operation, the wound is almost certainly not aseptic.

Animals, too, are spared in great part the suffering human beings get from their imaginations. Surgeons are very often told by patients how much less terrible an operation has been than they had thought it would be. They have said, 'Pray do tell other people not to be afraid; it is so easy to think it much worse than it really is.' 'I had no idea there would be so little pain; I tortured myself much more in thinking about it than I need have done had I known the truth.'

From all these considerations it seems to result that physiological research on living animals is not impossible without anything that can fairly be called torture. If the operator sets himself to minimise suffering, he can reduce it, in almost all cases, to a point which is not out of proportion to the advantage to be gained. If he does not seriously and honestly do his utmost to avoid pain, he is cruel.

This brings us to the question, What are the regulations under which physiological research is now being carried on in England? How far has the Act of 1876 protected animals from useless suffering? Physiologists can no longer do what they like in silence, and at any cost in the matter of suffering. What we have to ask is, Does the Act in practice sufficiently check the giving of unnecessary pain, and do the higher interests of mankind justify some sacrifice of animal life, even with pain, provided always that every care is taken to minimise pain to the utmost?

The Act made private vivisection a penal offence. No experiment on a living animal is legal except on premises duly registered under the Act and open to inspection by the Government inspector. The suggestion that almost all medical practitioners and students spent their leisure hours in dissecting living animals was always known to the initiated to be in the last degree absurd; but since the Act was passed, even people most enthusiastically opposed to scientific advance have not dared to make it. Experiments can now be made only in registered places and by licensed people. Any one applying for a licence must be recommended as qualified for research work by a president of one of the great medical corporations and by a professor of physiology. A licence when taken alone is limited in the following ways:—

1. The animal must be completely anæsthetised.
2. It must be killed before it can recover from the anæsthetic.
3. The experiment cannot be used to illustrate class teaching.
4. It must not be a mere repetition of what has before been done.
5. The animal must not be a cat or a dog.
6. It must not be a horse, mule, or ass.

Thus, under a licence only very little can be done. The repair of wounds cannot be studied, it is impossible to make inoculations, or to work at the diseases of horses and dogs.

The Act provides six separate certificates, marked A to F, to meet and remove these various restrictions. None of these certificates can be obtained except by holders of the license. Each certificate removes one restriction only, and for a limited time only. Certificate A permits operations to be done without anæsthetics, but in practice it is given only for inoculations and the giving of drugs or poisons. In operations of this class the initial pain is quite trifling—the prick of a needle only—the real experiment lies in the after-effect of the prick. When pain results from an inoculation the animal has to be at once killed. Certificate B permits keeping the animal alive after an operation if not in pain. The operation itself is made under complete anæsthesia, and every care is taken to ensure the wound being aseptic. Certificate C permits the chief facts of physiology to be illustrated before a class. In all cases the animal is anæsthetised and killed under the anæsthetic. Certificate D

is to enable an experiment to be repeated. It has been out of use for many years, and it is now scarcely ever asked for. Certificate E allows experiments on cats and dogs. It is marked 'Without anæsthetics,' but this applies only to inoculations and feeding experiments; other operations are done under the conditions imposed by Certificate B, i.e. anæsthesia and aseptic surgery. It does not in the least follow that all experiments done under Certificate E have been without anæsthesia. On the contrary, for many years, in spite of protests from experimenters, all persons wishing to make an experiment on a dog or cat were compelled to classify their work under Certificate E. During the last four or five years a further certificate, E E, has been introduced to cover all such experiments performed, as they always are, under anæsthesia. Certificate F allows experiments on horses, asses, and mules, and it also is marked 'Without anæsthesia,' to cover inoculations.

The use of inoculations has very largely increased during the last few years, both for the diagnosis of disease in man or animals, and for therapeutic purposes. For example, the antitoxin of diphtheria is now made on a very large scale, and as far as possible of a definite strength. It all has to be tested by experiment before it can safely be used upon human beings. Each inoculation of a rabbit or guinea-pig with this in view counts as a vivisection experiment. The large increase in the annual number of experiments reported to the Home Secretary is mainly due to the increase in the number of inoculations for diagnostic or therapeutic purposes. The inspector's report for 1897 shows that 7,360 experiments were made in which the operation consisted only of an inoculation or a hypodermic injection. In 111 cases the animals operated upon were cats or dogs, in 14 they were horses, mules, or asses. Every supposed case of rabies in a dog is tested, on rabbits or guinea-pigs, by means of such inoculation.

There were in the same year 866 experiments under the licence alone, and 207 under Certificate C. In both these cases the animals were fully anæsthetised before the operation began, and they were killed while still insensible. Three hundred and eighty-nine animals were allowed to live after operation; and of these 190 were cats, dogs, horses, asses, or mules. In 1898 there were 7,333 experiments which were inoculations only, in addition to 307 cases in which the inoculation involved an operation and was done under an anæsthetic. These last were for the diagnosis of

rabies. Their number has decreased from 687 in 1896 to 307 in 1898, thanks probably to the useful, though unpopular, muzzling order. There were 443 experiments performed on animals under an anæsthetic and allowed to live. In all the rest, excluding the inoculations, the experiment was made and the animal killed under anæsthesia.

Any charge of 'torture,' therefore, can only refer to 389 animals in 1897, or to 443 in 1898. In the great majority of these the wound was aseptic, and after the first operation, which would be done under an anæsthetic, the pain would be quite trifling. 'Torture' would be a most misleading word to apply to a human being after an operation involving even a long skin wound, when the wound is aseptic, and, as we have said, no one contends that the nervous system of dogs and cats is as fully developed as that of man. The opponents of research by way of experiment do not appear to distinguish with sufficient care between experiments which cause pain and those that do not. They are also too fond of using what may be described in mild language as 'misleading phrases,' such as 'cutting up live animals,' 'dissecting animals alive,' when less harrowing words would be far more appropriate. An example of this may be quoted. The report of the National Anti-Vivisection Society for 1898 gives the terms of a resolution which was passed unanimously at the meeting of the society's council on May 18, 1898. It begins thus: --

'That the committee of the London Hospital having determined to divert from their funds which are given to support a hospital for the sick, 2,000*l.* a year as a subsidy to a medical school wherein animals are dissected alive, this council herewith records its solemn protest against such action, which might be considered by many a positive breach of trust,' &c.

Here the language cannot be said to have the lucidity proper to writing that deals with scientific matters. The words are, indeed, so unfortunately chosen that they convey a meaning which is very far from the truth.

The facts as regards experiments on living animals in the Medical School of the London Hospital are easily discovered from the inspector's report to the Home Secretary, and they appear to be as follows:—Two members of the teaching staff of the school hold licences. One of the two is restricted to work at his own school. He obtained in 1897, in addition to the licence, two B certificates and one C certificate, neither of which he used. Under his licence alone he performed

thirty-two experiments, none of them upon the more sensitive animals; in all of these the animal was anæsthetised during the operation and killed while unconscious. The other London Hospital teacher is permitted to work in two laboratories, and it is not said in the report how much of his work was done in the two places respectively. He performed forty-four experiments in all under his licence (i.e. animals anæsthetised and killed while insensible), and five under certificate B + EE, which means that five times in the year he operated upon a dog under anæsthesia, but kept the dog alive afterwards. All the five were aseptic wounds, and probably, therefore, gave rise to very little pain in the process of healing. Is it just to describe such work as this as 'dissecting animals alive'? Every operation on a human being might with equal accuracy be spoken of as 'the dissecting of a living man,' but we know that if the patient is unconscious such a phrase would suggest that which is untrue. Is it right, moreover, to suggest that when people of good repute say they have used anæsthetics they are saying that which they know to be untrue and misleading? It should not be forgotten that physiologists have feelings as well as frogs, and that pain can be inflicted through the mind as well as through the skin. Men who are giving up their lives to the difficult and often disappointing work of searching for truth, mainly for the love of truth, and secondarily, in the hope that presently every new truth will bear fruit for the good of their fellow-men; who deliberately turn their back upon the far more profitable work of medical practice, and accept for themselves what is by comparison poverty, that they may help others to better methods and sounder knowledge; who in private life are known to be humane and honourable people; men of this class should not lightly be called 'inhuman devils.' More especially should this not be done at the bidding of some two or three members of their own profession, who would be fortunate, indeed, could they change places in general esteem and respect with those whom they defame. The episode at the Church Congress at Folkestone in 1892 has not been forgotten. Mr. Victor Horsley then proved that in the famous (or infamous) 'Nine Circles' all mention of anæsthetics having been employed had been omitted in twenty out of twenty-six cases, and that in several of the remaining six the animal had been killed before the experiment began. No one can approve Mr. Horsley's language. Nevertheless the severe castigation administered by him

was deserved, and its effect has been wholesome. When David the stripling, with his wallet full of stones, advanced to meet Goliath, some of the onlookers, no doubt, thought him too forward for his years. But David very naturally felt it was an occasion for setting aside the ordinary rules of decorum. It was much the same at Folkestone. No consideration of what is fitting as 'company manners' can be expected from people who are continually smarting under unjust and most damaging imputations, and who see that these are sustained by the omission of all-important facts. Dukes, bishops, canons, and ladies learnt at Folkestone what would befall them if they suppressed important evidence while bringing grave charges against people of whose real work and its value they are completely ignorant. To live in charity with our neighbours includes taking care not to malign them, and it is surely a more important duty not to bear false witness against men than it is to show exaggerated sensibility about frogs, rabbits, and guinea-pigs. Dogs, cats, and horses ought not to take precedence in our affections over the interests, welfare, and sufferings of our fellow-men.

Much indignation has been felt about the use of curare, and the Act of 1876 expressly forbids its use as an anæsthetic. When it is used, it must be supplemented with some other drug to relieve pain. A good deal of misconception exists as to the actual physiological effect of curare, or woorali, or oorali, as it is variously called. It is the arrow poison of Guiana. It undoubtedly shows its effects first upon the muscles and their nerves. It kills by arresting respiration, by paralysing the respiratory muscles. It is a powerful poison, and unless respiration is maintained artificially the animal dies asphyxiated. Claude Bernard believed that it did not in any way affect the sensory nerves, and he described in theatrical terms the animal as being unable to stir, but suffering horrible torture. Tennyson unfortunately committed himself in a rash moment to the support of this view, speaking of it as the 'hellish woorali.' It is satisfactory to be told now that before his death he repented of his mistake, and said so to his greatest medical friends. It is pretty certainly known now that Claude Bernard was wrong, and that, though curare acts first upon the motor nerves, it also, though less rapidly, paralyses the sensory nerves, always supposing that by artificial respiration the animal is kept alive long enough for the less rapid effect to be produced. It would be out of

place here to give the experimental evidence which satisfies physiologists upon this point. One case only is known to have occurred in which the full influence of curare could be studied upon a human being, and in which at the same time the presence or absence of anæsthetic effect could be noted. The case is reported by Mr. Joseph White,* late of Nottingham, and a former President of the British Medical Association. A servant girl accidentally transfixd her arm with a poisoned arrow while dusting a 'trophy' of Indian arms in her master's hall. The arrow was withdrawn within two minutes, and the girl was seen by Mr. White half an hour later. She was then collapsed, and was breathing very badly. Artificial respiration was kept up, aided by faradisation. The wound was freely excised along its entire length. Two hours later reaction set in, and the patient gradually recovered. On regaining consciousness she expressed the utmost surprise at seeing the wound in her arm, as she had felt nothing of the operation. She had, in fact, been unconscious from within half an hour of the introduction of the poison. Had Claude Bernard's dictum been correct, she ought, though paralysed as to her muscles, to have been throughout the whole time conscious and sensitive. Probably the truth is that, like all other nerve poisons, the effect of curare varies with the dose. The muscular nerves are the first affected, then the sensory, and finally the central nervous system. As a matter of fact, however, morphia or some other narcotic is always given in addition to curare when it is used in laboratory work in England. Even this does not satisfy the opponents of research. They try to maintain that morphia does not remove operative pain. Whether it does or not is also a question of dose, as it is in relieving the pains of cancer or neuralgia. It is very easy to give too little when pain is considerable; but it is always possible to destroy consciousness of pain with morphia if the dose given be adequate.

The bill intended to amend the Act of 1876, drafted by the Victoria Street Society, and approved by the Duke of Portland, proposes to permit all that is now done under the licence only and under Certificate C. It is to be lawful to do anything under chloroform provided that the animal is killed before it can recover consciousness. In the interest of the animal we may doubt if it would prefer to be killed after any trifling operation, and in the interests of science

* 'British Medical Journal,' 1889, vol. i. p. 598.

and humanity it is certain that researches so limited would be of the smallest possible value, if of any. All inoculations would be illegal, nothing could be learnt from animals of the action and powers of new drugs, nothing about the power of repair, nothing as to the mode in which disease extends along defined tracts in the central organs of the nervous system, as to which we still have almost everything to learn. If it is cruel to perform an operation on an animal under anæsthetics and to let it recover, what can be said in defence of the many other ways in which animals suffer in the service of man without the solace of anæsthetics? Pain is caused in many ways other than research. Surely the only sound rule is that needless and useless pain should everywhere be avoided by humane people. Pain deliberately inflicted upon animals for mercenary motives, for sport, for the destruction of noxious animals, and for the advancement of science, all stands upon one platform, and must be judged by one standard. It is to be justified if the animal world is placed at the service of man, and if the pain inflicted is the least possible, but not otherwise.

It cannot be right to give pain to animals in order to improve their flavour as food, to make them more docile as servants, to furnish us with food, fur, feathers, and skins, or to give us pleasure in trapping, killing, or wounding them, to rid our fields and gardens of their depredations, and to do all this on a gigantic scale and often in most unskilful ways, if it is wrong to give a fractional part of the same amount of pain to animals, often of a lower grade of sensibility, in order to improve our knowledge of the laws of life and of disease, and to search for new remedies. Let us consider the two classes of cases more in detail—experiments performed on animals for the sake of getting wider and surer knowledge of life, disease, and measures of healing, as contrasted with all the other forms of suffering imposed by man upon the animal world.

It is absurd to suppose that the mutilation of animals, as done on a very large scale by farmers, shepherds, breeders, &c., for the sake of profit or convenience, does not hurt them. It is a serious operation done without anæsthetics, and it involves the removal of important and sensitive organs. Professor Kramer, of Zürich, calculated from the German cattle census the number of animals so vivisected in the German Empire in one year. His figures are—65,000 horses, 650,000 cattle, 2,000,000 lambs and sheep, 8,000,000 pigs. There are, in addition, the operations

for docking the tails of horses, dogs, and sheep. The torture inflicted upon animals in badly organised cattle markets, in long journeys, often in hot weather and without water, and by unskilful butchers, is also enormous. The late Sir B. W. Richardson used to testify to the distress caused to animals by the sights and smells of unsuitable slaughterhouses while waiting their turn to be killed. In sport we have to consider, not only the animals killed, but those who are wounded and escape, often to die slowly of starvation. The snaring and trapping of hares and rabbits frequently results in their being alive and in suffering for hours, their cries in the night being at times heard at some distance from a warren. Sir James Paget instances ligger fishing, where the hook is baited with a live fish and drawn through the water till the impaled fish is eaten, as involving more pain than most physiological experiments. He further says that playing a large salmon for hours probably gives 'more pain than any experiment on fish or reptile.'

Then in stag-hunting the stag often suffers what is equivalent to many deaths. If he is expensive, the hounds are not allowed to kill him; he is kept alive to be hunted again and again. The suffering connected with seal-fishing and with the collection of osprey feathers is well recognised. Ospreys are not a necessity. They cannot be had without killing the mother bird and leaving her brood to die of starvation; the business of getting them promotes the growth of none of the higher qualities of character. They feed vanity, as Strasburg *pâtés* feed gluttony, and both involve an amount of suffering out of proportion to the value of the thing gained. Yet we see fashionable ladies, who are strongly against vivisection, wearing aigrettes, and *pâté de foie gras* is not believed to be unwelcome to their husbands. Let us clear our minds of cant and look facts frankly in the face. A duke going to preside at a meeting against vivisection dines off animals who have been vivisected; he may even eat live oysters and the livers of geese in whom disease has been artificially induced. The ladies with him wear furs, feathers, and ospreys. He drives to the meeting behind vivisected horses. In fact, the only form of vivisection he objects to is that which furnishes, not luxury, amusement, or vanity, but knowledge. Everything else is sanctioned by immemorial custom; this alone is unfamiliar to him, and he tries to destroy it. Fifty years ago anæsthetics were a novelty.* Much the same fight was made against them, and by the same type of objectors.

Further back, human dissections were resisted. Anatomists were called as many hard names then as the physiologists are now, and with as much reason. The truth is that, in point of numbers, the animals who lose their lives or who suffer pain in the service of man in the laboratories are as units compared with the millions who do both in other places. We have anæsthetics and morphia in the hands of the physiologist, nothing of the kind to help the farmer, the shepherd, the butcher, the sportsman, and the game-keeper.

Now and again the inconsistency of his position seems to dawn in a dim way upon an anti-vivisectionist, as when the Bishop of Manchester said at Folkestone that but for the necessity of living and keeping his big voice he would eat no more meat. What is a bishop and a big voice compared to doing right? If to eat meat is cruel, let us all be vegetarians and dumb! But our contention is that suffering imposed upon the animal world in the service of man is not opposed to high morality; that it is not cruel, but lawful and right, if done in the right way and for worthy objects. The instances of suffering we have named above are not advanced in any *tu quoque* spirit. Two wrongs do not make a right. Our argument is that man is justified in using the lower animals in his service, in killing them, and even in giving them pain, for an adequate cause and with careful avoidance of recklessness as to the pain inflicted.

There remains the question, 'Are the results gained by the experimental method in physiology worth what they have cost, and what they will continue to cost?' It is admitted that they have in times past involved taking the lives of a large number of animals under conditions of considerable suffering. At the present time, with the aid of anæsthetics and in the light of a more compassionate spirit, life will still be taken, and there will still be a certain, though much smaller, amount of inevitable pain. Are the results adequate? There are two ways of looking at this question. We may say, 'Is truth in every direction valuable? Is it really worth any more than the crudest hypothetical explanation of everything we do not understand? Is there anything in truth which justifies sacrifice in striving to attain it?' To this the truth-seeker says, 'Yes, truth in itself is precious; it is that for which I am in search.' Or we may ask of any one truth, 'What is the practical good of knowing this—how has it affected the general well-being of the world? Show me specific instances in which

‘ this particular truth has done good, and when you show
‘ them I shall be able to prove to you that it has actually
‘ been worthless, and that hypotheses did practically quite as
‘ well.’ It is the glory and distinction of the scientific spirit to
recognise that truth, in all directions, be it theology, history,
philosophy, or science, is in itself, and apart from its practical
results, ‘ the pearl of great price,’ the one thing worth seek-
ing. The prayer of those who feel thus is for light as
light—not merely that it may ripen peaches. To a physio-
logist or to any one acquainted with scientific medicine it
seems as reasonable to ask what is the good of research into
the problems of life as it would be to say, ‘ What has been
‘ the good of the Copernican system? The world would
‘ have gone on somehow if Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and
‘ Newton had never lived.’ It is impossible for seekers of
truth to argue with people who think in this way. If they
do not care to know what *is*; if they prefer vague hypo-
theses of what ‘ may be,’ they must remain in the mists and
darkness they love.

Four hundred years ago Copernicus studied astronomy as
a necessary introduction to medicine. To be able to cast a
horoscope was in those days an important part of the
medical art. Witch medicine still prevails over large
portions of the world. Everything in this system is
accounted for by the malign influence of the evil eye, and
the witch doctor cures, not by diagnosing disturbed con-
ditions and getting them brought back to the normal, but
by finding the witch and getting him or her burnt or stoned
or buried alive. It is only by searching for truth as to
bodily structure and function, as to the causes of disease,
and as to methods of preventing disease or of correcting
abnormal conditions of body, that we have advanced away
from astrology, from medical incantations and baseless
hypotheses.

Bacon’s method as applied in recent years to medicine
and physiology has, in fact, absolutely revolutionised prac-
tical medicine and surgery. It has in many directions
taken them out of the region of fanciful theories; it has
justified for the first time their claim to be called scientific.
The physician now recognises that there are certain things
absolutely known, that there are many other things of
which the only honest thing to say is, ‘ I know as yet
‘ nothing solid about them.’ The art of the ‘ conceal-
‘ ment of ignorance and the ostentation of apparent wisdom ’
is no longer his main stock-in-trade, though under the

name of 'a good bedside manner' it is still occasionally practised. Bacon taught the world to distrust hypotheses, and to seek the truth not from 'fruit-bringing but from 'light-bringing experiments.' Harvey exhorted the Fellows of his college 'to search out and study the secrets of nature 'by way of experiment.' Physiologists and biologists working in the way indicated by Bacon and Harvey have brought to light the ultimate causes of many diseases and the mode of avoiding them; they have enriched practical surgery with antiseptic methods and with anæsthesia; with control over hæmorrhage while operating; with a rational and successful treatment of aneurism and of glaucoma; with the power in not a few cases of removing a tumour even from the brain itself.

In medicine proper, all that is summed up in the phrase 'heart disease,' all knowledge of arterial tension and its influence on the whole organism, have all been evolved gradually from the basis of Harvey's discovery. All our knowledge of nervous disease is based upon vivisectional experiments, from Charles Bell to Hitzig and Ferrier. Almost all our knowledge of the digestive processes, of angina pectoris and of methods of relieving it, has been gained through experiment. Practical medicine has been enriched through experimental research with such drugs as digitalis, cocaine, croton-chloral, nitrite of amyl; with the method of auscultation; with a knowledge of the cause of tuberculosis, typhoid fever, cholera; with the life history of parasites; with the cause of myxœdema and related conditions and how to relieve them, and with a life-saving remedy for diphtheria. Our knowledge of the essential nature of fever, and of the related conditions of sunstroke and hyperpyrexia in rheumatism, is based upon Claude Bernard's much-reviled experiments on the mechanism of animal heat. These experiments are spoken of as 'baking alive,' as if the animals had been roasted before a slow fire. In reality there was no scorching of skin, which is what gives pain, but a gradual elevation of the temperature of the blood to a degree incompatible, first with consciousness, and then with life. There is no acute pain in sunstroke; the patients quickly become stupefied, and then quite insensible. Thanks very much to Claude Bernard's experiments we know now that high temperature kills by paralysing a certain part of the nervous system. One practical result of the knowledge has been to emphasise the importance of not weakening the vasomotor centres with alcohol in the presence of tropical

heat. Another result has been the cold-water treatment of sunstroke and of hyperpyrexia. Six dogs and a good many rabbits, &c., were used in Bernard's experiments. A very large number of men and women have every year a better chance of not dying of heat than they would have had but for the knowledge gained at that price. Was the price too high?

It is, in fact, no figure of speech, but the simplest of truths, to say that everything of solid value in medicine and surgery is based upon knowledge gained by the experimental method. What should we know of the heart, the pulse, the action and influence of any one organ, but for experimental observation? The opponents of the experimental method have declared their willingness to make no use themselves of medical knowledge gained by its means. If they intend to be as good as their word they must join 'the Peculiar People' and do without doctors, unless they can find one who does not know the fundamental facts which Galen, Harvey, Haller, and Malpighi made plain through experiment. Even some of those members of the medical profession who go to anti-vivisection meetings admit the value of experiment by inoculation. The late Mr. Lawson Tait, for instance, disapproved of vivisection experiments, but he attended a meeting in support of the British Institute of Preventive Medicine, and supported a resolution cordially approving the objects of the Institute. He said that 'bacteriological experiments on animals have proved of great value.'* This declaration was received at the time with amusement and applause, and we can well believe it.

Evidence as to the kind of practical physiological work required from students may be obtained from any modern text-book, as, for instance, 'The Essentials of Experimental Physiology.'† The object of the book is to show the student or original investigator how to verify most of the more important facts as to muscular contraction, fatigue, the supply of nerves to the heart, lungs, and glands, and reflex action. All these subjects lie at the basis of any real knowledge of the working of the body in health. It must surely be better for students to get absolutely clear notions about them on living tissues, or even on living bodies, than only to cram up the facts from books. In the

* 'British Medical Journal,' February 11, 1895, p. 317.

† By T. G. Brodie, M.D., Lecturer on Physiology St. Thomas's Hospital. London: Longmans, 1898.

case of students all the lessons are given upon frogs, and the frog is killed as the first step in the lesson. Generally it is pithed—i.e. its spinal cord is divided just below the brain; sometimes it is beheaded. In the few exceptional cases of demonstrations by the teacher or investigator, the fact that the animal is to be anæsthetised is mentioned as the first step. A hasty reader might easily overlook these important facts, and consider the whole book a tissue of horrors; whereas in truth it probably represents scarcely any pain at all, none absolutely in the pithed or beheaded frogs, except at the moment of the operation, very little in the anæsthetised animals. Similarly, in another modern book on 'Surgical Shock,'* 148 experiments on animals are detailed, which would no doubt have given great suffering but for anæsthesia. In all but two or three cases, however, it is specially mentioned that complete anæsthesia was produced, and in almost every case the animal was killed while still unconscious. Even where the anæsthesia is said to have been 'incomplete' it does not follow that there was suffering of an acute kind. Every lying-in woman who is helped by anæsthetics knows what an immense effect even a little chloroform has in dulling pain and making it tolerable. Full anæsthesia is very rarely produced in these cases; the patient knows, to a certain extent, what is going on, can answer questions, and do what she is asked to do, and yet she is aware that an occasional whiff of the anæsthetic keeps 'a thick blanket between her and the pain.' There is no reason to doubt that in animals also partial anæsthesia represents a very large amount of relief from pain. The subject of surgical shock is one of the greatest practical importance. Many lives are lost every year in a way that has hitherto been very imperfectly understood; can it be doubted that it is right to try to determine what causes these deaths and how they can be prevented, even at the cost of 148 animals?

It is idle to say to physiologists that they should learn from the dead. The problems of life can only be studied on living tissues. Happily for students, the tissues of many cold-blooded animals live for a considerable time after the death of the animal, so that many of the most important facts of physiology can be demonstrated in them soon after death. There are, however, many other things like 'surgical

* 'An Experimental Research into Surgical Shock.' By G. W. Crile, M.D. Cleveland, U.S. 1899.

'shock' that can only be studied in living bodies. It is purely a question of scientific fact whether vivisection is useful or necessary in physiological and pathological research. Those who have absolutely no knowledge of either subject ought not to pretend to decide the point. Sir George Duckett, the foremost man on the original Anti-Vivisection Society, told the Commissioners in 1875 that 'medical science has arrived probably at its extreme limits, and has little to learn, and nothing can be gained by repetition of experiments on living animals.' Just at the time this sapient utterance was made the great science of bacteriology came to light, to show how very little had hitherto been known as to the nature of the most commonplace maladies. People have been looking for centuries from the outside, as it were, at cancer and malaria. What do we know even now of cancer? How long have we known anything solid about malaria? The truth is that medicine has been empirical guesswork till quite lately; much of it is nothing better now, and if it is to improve and take its place as a science it can only be by toiling along the stony and weary path of experimental investigation. Nor need we fear that too many people will press into this path. Human nature is mostly indolent and ease-loving. Research by experiment is difficult and costly; it requires almost infinite patience, infinite hopefulness. It brings in a mere pittance of income; it requires a degree of absorption which prevents any other work being done. There need be no fear of too many people undertaking it.

The promoters of the Amendment Bill insist greatly on the necessity for more constant inspection. They propose that operations shall only be done in the presence of an inspector. They assume that the Government inspector cannot possibly overlook the work of the laboratories in anything but a perfunctory way. There is no ground for supposing that they are right in this assumption. The inspector has an assistant, and he himself only visits the laboratories in London and within a moderate distance from London. His visits are always surprise ones, and at each visit he looks carefully into the condition of the animals, the provision for their housing and comfort, and their state after operation. In his absence there are many people who would be able, and very likely willing, to give information if the law were being disregarded. Every laboratory must have servants and porters, who are probably well aware that information of any departure from the letter of

the Act would be gratefully accepted in Victoria Street. Is it likely that people in the position of those at the head of a laboratory would put themselves in the power of their subordinates in this way? In practice their aim is to conform strictly to the law, for they recognise that only by doing so are they safe from watchful and unsparing enemies. The proposal now made would necessitate an inspector being appointed for each laboratory. If his whole time were wanted, the salary of each inspector would need to be at least 1,000*l.* a year. A very good man, such as the present inspector, will take work for a moderate salary if he can combine it with consulting practice; but if he can have no practice, he would require three or four times as much. If it be said that the inspector need not be a scientific man, the rejoinder is, How could he criticise experiments, the very meaning of which would be entirely unknown to him? It would be as reasonable to have the work of astronomers in an eclipse expedition inspected and reported on by a cab-driver as to have such an inspector. To be worth anything at all the inspection must be done by some one who knows what is being aimed at, and who has sufficient acquaintance with methods to see that the best precautions possible are taken to avoid useless pain, and to arrive at valuable results.

In conclusion we would venture to commend to all who desire to form a wise judgement on this difficult subject the need for care on the following points:—

Do not receive harrowing narratives of cruelty without noticing their date and address. We are responsible only for what is done at the present time in Great Britain and Ireland. What we wish to know is whether there is anything that can fairly be called cruelty here.

Do not suppose that narratives taken from the pre-anæsthetic days, even in England, apply now. They do not.

Bear in mind that to no one is the absence of pain on the animal's part more advantageous than to the operator.

If not satisfied, ask for leave to visit some four or five English laboratories. Much more will be learnt that way than by attending many meetings in St. James's or Exeter Hall.

We would call to remembrance the words in the Commissioners' Report: 'Knowledge goes before the application of knowledge, and the application of a discovery is seldom foreseen when the discovery is made,' and the older words: 'The Spirit of Man is the Lamp of God wherewith he searcheth the inwardness of all secrets.'

- ART. VIII.—1. *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire.* By SAMUEL DILL. London: 1898.
2. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* By EDWARD GIBBON. Edited in seven volumes with Introduction, Notes, and Appendix, by J. B. BURY. London: 1896–99.
3. *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica. Auctores Antiquissimi.* Thirteen volumes. Berlin: 1877–98.
4. *Ostgothische Studien.* Von Th. MOMMSEN. Hanover: 1889.

IT is just two centuries since Tillemont died without completing his enormous histories of the Emperors and early Popes of Rome. It is rather more than half that period since Tillemont's greater successor, Gibbon, one summer night, in a garden at Lausanne, wrote the last words of his far more splendid work, the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.' The learning of the one and the genius of the other were immediately recognised by their contemporaries, yet they exercised curiously little influence. They awoke no lasting interest in their subject; apart from theological wrangles, they provoked no discussion or research, and since they wrote, neither students nor ordinary readers have troubled themselves much till lately about the Roman Empire. So far as they have taken heed of ancient history, they have preferred other periods. The Roman Republic has been discussed till there is hardly anything left to say about it. Specialists have been allured by the puzzles of its earliest age; others by the wrestle of privileged patrician and unprivileged plebeian, or by the downfall of the oligarchy which was for years misinterpreted and sanctified as the downfall of a constitutional democracy before the blows of a soldier-tyrant. Greece has received even more notice, at least since Gibbon's contemporary Winckelmann rediscovered Greek art, and since Greece herself regained her freedom. Excavations round the shores of the Ægean have startled and attracted scholars, and the old Greek artistic ideals have been found to suit that superficial, emotional or æsthetic temperament which characterises our hurried age.

But for some years signs have been visible that the Roman Empire will not be much longer neglected. A vast accumulation of archæological evidence, most of it new and all of it needing interpretation, offers to the student the

prospect of original work, while the period itself presents problems which closely concern ourselves, the problems of the organisation and the vitality of a great and complex Empire. Therefore much has been written lately about the Empire, and not least about that aspect of it with which we propose here to deal, the measure of its vitality and the stupendous spectacle of its downfall in Western Europe. We need not here stay to notice the flood of French and German monographs which is rising high round the unhappy specialist. But it is significant that the greatest of living historians, Theodor Mommsen, has devoted the later years of his life largely to this subject, and that under his guidance the German Record Society, as we may style it, has republished, in a row of stately quartos, the ancient authors who best describe the Fall of the Western Empire. In England a new edition of Gibbon * is all but complete; writers like Freeman and Hodgkin have helped notably to advance knowledge, and still more recently Mr. Dill has given us a delightful sketch of the fifth century Romans in Italy and Gaul, which is deservedly receiving the compliment of a speedy second edition. We propose in the following paragraphs to review the causes and the character of the overthrow which Rome suffered in Western Europe, as recent writers have portrayed them for us.

Many causes have been suggested to account for that overthrow, and, indeed, many causes are required to explain so great and so protracted a catastrophe. But the main issue can be stated briefly. Two groups of facts were material, the internal disorders of the Empire and the assaults of the barbarians from without. Which of the two was really decisive? We may hold that the Empire decayed within, and fell before the barbarians as a rotten tree falls from its own utter rottenness in a passing squall. Or we may hold that it was still a comparatively sound tree, likely to have stood for years, when the fierce and persistent tornado broke it down. Many recent writers take the first of these two views, and maintain that the Empire was doomed before the barbarians came upon it. It is a natural view to-day. We have in this generation no barbarians to fear. We feel doubts about the soundness of our own civilisation. At least in England, we cherish an instinctive belief in the inevitable rottenness of a despotism. Of course, we conclude that the ruin of the Roman Empire

* See 'Edinburgh Review,' April, 1897.

came from itself. But though recent writers take this view, recent research does not seem to justify it. Recent research suggests very different conclusions—that the Empire was, in the main, a sound and healthy State until the barbarians attacked it, and that even at the last its civilisation and political order possessed a vitality which precludes the notion of a protracted organic decay commencing from within. We shall consider first the internal disorders—intellectual, physical, economic, and constitutional—which appeared, or have been thought to have appeared, inside the Empire. The survey will show that some of these disorders have been exaggerated or misinterpreted by the critics of the Empire, and that the rest, the real evils, came comparatively late. The barbarians first knocked at the gates of the Empire about A.D. 150; after eighty years of continuous and increasing pressure, they forced the gates slightly open, and then, during the third century of our era, the internal disorders showed themselves multiform. Then, but not till then, they begin to take rank as causes or as indications of a failing Empire.

We have classed the forms of internal disorder as intellectual, physical, economic, and constitutional. The intellectual or rather the literary decay of the Empire is almost proverbial. No great writer succeeded Juvenal and Tacitus. For three centuries the higher intellect of Rome seems to have been overtaken by paralysis. No scientific discovery, no fresh movement in native Roman literature, can be detected. No orator rivalled Cicero, no poet explored the unexhausted possibilities of the hexameter as Virgil left it in later books of the ‘Æneid.’ Despotism is said to have muzzled free speech, and rhetorical training to have strangled literary genius. That is not nearly the whole truth. Bad traditions of the schools are not omnipotent, else some of our best English poets would never have written. Despotism does not forbid all forms of intellect, else there were no great Russian names in modern literature and science. We can give other and better explanations of the poverty of Roman Imperial literature and intellectual development. The absence of scientific discovery is a defect, not of the Empire only, but of all classical antiquity. The ancients knew something of botany and zoology and what we in general style natural history, but, as Du Bois Reymond and other modern scientific writers have noticed, they made no progress in physical science or in its practical applications to such things as machinery. The absence,

again, of oratory was not merely due to despotism; it resulted largely from an improved judicial standard which rejected the ornamental irrelevances of Cicero and demanded matter-of-fact argument. And, beside such special considerations, there is the broad fact that the men of the Empire, like crowds of able Englishmen to-day, were absorbed in the work of practical administration, and their intellect did not take book shape because it was otherwise occupied. So far as it did express itself on paper, its works were splendid legal treatises, the foundation to this day of most of modern law. If literature languished it was not without excuse.

We pass to the question of physical decline. Under the Empire, we are told, the human harvest was bad, the population decreased. The assertion is most certainly untrue of the first three or four centuries. The evidence often adduced to prove it proves nothing of the sort. Thus it is alleged that the distributions of cheap corn, which commenced in B.C. 121, attracted the rural population from the country into Rome; Cicero and Virgil are quoted to show the desolation of Italy and Greece; the marriage laws of Augustus are detailed, and so forth. Two faults underlie these evidences. In the first place, they belong to the period before or when the Empire was established; the evils they imply might conceivably have prevented the Empire from ever existing, but they cannot be made responsible for its downfall three or four hundred years later. And, secondly, they refer mainly to Italy and to special classes or districts in Italy; they neglect the vast extent of the provinces. A survey of the whole area, such as Mommsen has made possible for us, shows a general prosperity and populousness which lasted in many lands till the fourth or fifth century. There were, undoubtedly, exceptions. Parts of Italy decayed, though we know that the small farmer was not at all wholly annihilated. The Greek lands present a sorry spectacle. Greece was half desert, even in its fertile districts where life can be easily supported; Sicily and South Italy, the old Magna Græcia, were little better. There were certainly vacant places where transplanted barbarians could be settled. But Egypt was more populous even than now; the provinces of Syria and Africa (by the latter we mean Tunis and Algiers), Gaul and Spain, had no lack of inhabitants even in the fourth century. Let anyone who doubts read some such book as the charming poem which Ausonius of Bordeaux wrote in 371 to describe his visit to the

Moselle. That is no picture of a failing population, but of vineyards on the hillsides and ploughland in the valleys, of farms and country houses and towns looking forth from ancient walls, of ploughman and vinegrower and fisher and boatman, of a rich and fertile and populous countryside.

The economic condition of the Empire is harder to discuss. Of late years much has been written about this subject, but not always with wisdom, and, indeed, the facts are few. Our literary evidence, such as that we have just quoted, and, still more, our archæological evidence, permits us to discern much prosperity at various times and in various places. On the other hand, the basis of wealth was mostly agricultural, and the absence, noticed above, of improvements in machinery and the manufacturing arts must have impeded its increase. Gold appears to have appreciated during the second and third centuries, though it is unnecessary to suppose, with one modern economist, that the supply of the precious metals actually ran short. Gold and silver were, indeed, used much less than under modern conditions. There was more production for home use and more employment of natural objects as money. The French singer who toured years ago in the Pacific and received an honorarium of pigs, turkeys, chickens, cocoanuts, and bananas, might have lived under the Empire. On the whole, it appears probable that the wealth of the Empire was adequate without possessing much margin of insurance against crises, and accordingly, when the barbarians burnt the crops and more troops were needed to repel their raids, the taxpayer failed to respond. The unit of taxation was usually the town, and the over-taxation therefore brought a further evil in its train, for the municipal system came near to collapsing under the burthen. But all this was because of the barbarians, not antecedent to their advent.

Finally we come to the constitutional evils of the Empire. Under this head we class the evils which are sometimes described as the supremacy of the army, a phrase which really covers two distinct facts or sets of facts. First, there is a curious feature in the constitutional position of the Emperor. The Roman Empire was in its origin a compromise. In theory the Republic still existed; the Emperor was merely a special ruler, named for life, and his death did not legally imply the nomination of a successor. Such a constitution naturally possessed no rules of succession, and the want was emphasised by the strange fact that few Emperors had sons and still fewer had grandsons. No

dynastic system therefore grew up, and, if an Emperor did not select an heir in his lifetime, the throne at his death was open to all competitors. And, secondly, the provincial system encouraged competitors. By that system each province was an independent unit, with its own governor, who might rule it for several years, and its own even more permanent army. The regiments composing this army were rarely changed. Legion did not relieve legion or cohort relieve cohort, as if they had been English regiments in India or South Africa. The common soldiers usually served their twenty or twenty-five years in the same province, and likely enough in the same fortress. Accordingly each provincial army possessed a unity which made it a ready weapon to an ambitious and popular governor, and pronunciamientos were easy. Yet so strong was the framework of the Empire that for two centuries and a half such revolts were rare. Provincial governors joined prominently in the civil wars which followed the deaths of Nero and of Commodus; one governor also revolted against Domitian and one against Marcus Aurelius. At last, in the third century, the pressure of barbarian invasions changed things for the worse. These invasions imperatively required a strong and able general on the throne, and the vicissitudes of the warfare taught the provincial armies their strength and the provincial governors their opportunity. Then, after the death of Severus Alexander in 235, the plague of sedition broke out. In fifty years nearly fifty soldiers claimed the throne. Some were good, many bad, all ephemeral. None died in their beds: the barbarian or the mutineer or the assassin slew most of them. In 284 Diocletian restored a more permanent government, and his and Constantine's reforms saved the Empire from pronunciamientos for a hundred years. When the evil once more appears the Roman power in the West is near its end.

We have surveyed the evils which have been alleged as instances of organic internal decay. We have found that, so far as they are evils, their commencement dates after the first coming of the barbarians. We can now sketch the fortunes of the Empire and its gradual fall in orderly sequence. Let us begin with the period before the barbarian attacks—the first two and a half centuries, ending in 235. The prosperity of this period is proverbial, and admitted even by those who assert its hollowness. The Emperors were not all virtuous men, but they were nearly

all able administrators. They mounted the throne one after another in due series, though according to no Act of Succession, and the two civil wars which arose were brief and limited in area. Never in the history of mankind has so long a peace and so continuous a government blessed so many lands. Never has so large a portion of the globe been permanently opened to commercial, social, and intellectual intercourse with so few barriers of custom houses, language, or political frontiers. The result was not sloth or stagnation. The world of the Empire was, indeed, an old world. Behind it lay the dreams and experiments, the self-convicted follies and the disillusioned wisdom of many centuries. Before it lay no untravelled region, such as was spread out to our forefathers at the Renaissance or our fathers half a century ago. No new continent rose up beyond the western sea. No forgotten literature suddenly revealed its splendours. No amazing discoveries of science transformed the universe and the interpretation of it. The inventive freshness and intellectual confidence which are born of such things were denied to the Empire. Its temperament was neither literary nor æsthetic nor scientific; it was merely legal and administrative. But in virtue of that temperament it did a unique work. Someone has well observed that Greece taught men to be human, and Rome made mankind civilised. For two hundred and fifty years we trace the rulers of the Empire advancing, some of set purpose, some perhaps unconsciously, towards this goal, extending the political franchise, establishing municipalities, reorganising local government, encouraging the spread of Roman speech and customs, assimilating the provincial subjects of the Empire in an orderly and coherent civilisation. It was a splendid aim and it was reached. In 212 Caracalla conferred the full franchise of Rome on every, or almost every, freeborn provincial who was not already in possession of it. Doubtless he was not actuated to this step by sentimental motives. He ranks with his father, Septimius Severus, among the ablest and most brutal of the Emperors, and sentiment weighed little with him. More probably he wished to readjust the recruiting system, and to strengthen the army which kept back the barbarian. But the simple fact that the step could be taken demonstrates how near to the Roman the provincial had then been brought. The Empire took up and completed a task of which no Greek or Roman of the Republic ever dreamed.

The task was scarcely done when barbarian invasions and

internal disorders threatened the life of the Empire. We have indicated above that the internal evils were the results of barbarian pressure, and before we pass on to that we may pause a moment to speculate ~~what~~ might have been the future of Rome if no barbarians had ever assailed her frontiers. The speculation is not quite baseless. Among the institutions and practices of the time of Caracalla's edict—that is, of the opening third century—we can detect the germs of a future. They are few and faint and undeveloped, and they have been frequently overlooked, but they suffice for our purpose. The future they suggest is neither an eternity of the splendour and developement of the first two centuries nor a calamitous downfall due to internal disease and rottenness; it is a long survival, peaceful, stately, contented, but gradually losing life, elasticity, and vigour. We seem to detect the 'cake of custom,' as Mr. Bagehot used to call it, just commencing slowly to form over the Roman world. The seeds are being sown of a caste system. It is becoming hard for ordinary individuals to choose or change their professions. Many men in many ranks of life—town councillors, members of trade-guilds, soldiers—are tending to inherit almost mechanically their positions or their occupations. On the Imperial domains, which formed, as it were, enormous crown lands, the peasants are turning into cultivators hereditarily attached to the soil. The lawyers of Caracalla's time went so far as to affirm that a town councillor who left his town could be forcibly reconducted thither by the provincial authorities. The rigidity was increased by the growing centralisation of the Empire. The government at Rome interfered with the independence of the local municipal authorities and extended the number and scope of its own officials. The object was, no doubt, the object which prompts similar interferences in modern England—namely, administrative efficiency. The result was the destruction of freedom. But the whole movement proceeded a very little way. It was almost at once crossed by the invasions of the barbarians, and only its scattered results can be traced in the institutions of the fourth and fifth centuries. We can only guess what might have been. But if we are to guess, an obvious parallel arises. Had Rome, we think, been surrounded, like China, by hundreds of miles of mountain and desert, the slow procession of the centuries might have transformed her into something akin to the China of seventy years ago. But the barbarians saved her from that fate or fortune.

The barbarian attacks commenced in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, soon after the middle of the second century. The natural increase of population was then rendering Central and Eastern Europe too narrow for the German tribes who inhabited it, and at the same period obscure movements of multitudinous hordes in Asia were compelling a westward march. For seventy or eighty years the Roman Government maintained its long frontier from the mouth of the Rhine to the mouth of the Danube. But the external pressure increased; the efforts made to meet it overstrained the Empire and produced the internal disorders already mentioned, and in the third century bitter trouble ensued. The invaders plundered the Balkan peninsula and the Rhenish border, and slew an Emperor with all his men in the marshes of the Dobrudja. The central authority broke down and pretenders sprang up in many provinces. The Persians appeared with hostile arms along the Euphrates. The peasantry rose in Gaul and Africa. The plague walked to and fro in the Empire. Commerce declined, and amid the fluctuations of the currency coins ceased to bear any definite value. But the anarchy was not absolute. Some provinces were but slightly affected; some Emperors displayed real ability, and even usurpation seemed useful when Gaul enjoyed prosperity for ten years under a Postumus and Britain for six years* under a Carausius. Finally, Diocletian and Constantine reorganised the whole Imperial system, and throughout the fourth century strong men preserved peace with few serious interruptions. We have already noticed the witness of Ausonius to the flourishing condition of the dwellers by the Garonne and the Moselle. Similar evidence could be quoted for many other districts from literary or archæological sources. But the new system, with its enlarged army and bureaucracy, had increased the weight of taxation beyond human endurance, and was ruining the towns which formed the local units for the collection of taxes. The last good Emperor died in 395; under his most worthless sons the East and the West were definitely divided. The want of men and money grew more and more disastrous. The barbarians attacked the West with increasing force. A fatal *lustrum* commenced on the winter's night which divided 406 and 407, when a wild multitude crossed the Rhine to carry havoc across unravaged Gaul throughout its length and breadth. Soon Alaric the Visigoth plundered Italy and stormed and sacked the sacred City of Rome; then, he being dead, his tribesmen passed into Gaul and

Spain, there to settle and reign. When the five years' tempest passed by, it left a wrecked Empire. The sack of Rome was not the worst disaster. Jerome might well apply to it the wonderful verses in which Virgil described the sack of Troy, but Troy perished and Rome survived. The Goths retired at once, and in a few weeks city life resumed its wonted ways. Here and there ruins remained as mementos of a terrible night, but, as Augustine rather dolefully remarks, none troubled themselves further about the incident. There were more serious things than this, but, like so many serious events of the Empire, they occurred in the provinces, not in Rome. The great raid of 407 stamped into fragments the Roman administration of Gaul. Its place was taken by the leaders of the Visigoths, and effective Roman rule in Western Europe ceased for ever.

It had been a long struggle. The most protracted fighting known to English history is the intermittent quarrel called or miscalled the Hundred Years' War. Rome had faced the barbarians for more than two centuries. She had enjoyed few intervals of quiet, few chances to recover her wearied strength, and the barbarian assaults had all the while grown fiercer and fiercer, and their numbers greater and greater. What wonder that the Empire was exhausted? The perpetual struggle had strained the framework, and every component part had been tried to the uttermost. No State, we suppose, has ever been subjected to so long and so severe a crisis.

The barbarians have sometimes been described as too weak to have endangered a really efficient Empire. This description seems to us to imply a great under-estimate of their numbers and fighting powers. Even in the second century their armies must have been large, for the campaigns in which Marcus Aurelius defeated them were at once recognised as draining the resources of the Empire. In the third century they were not smaller. The Goths who made a dash at Greece about A.D. 270 numbered 320,000, most of them fighting men. Ten years later 400,000 Germans perished in Gaul. Such figures are ominous, and they do not stand alone. But the fighting power of the invaders was even more formidable. The barbarian assailants of the Empire were not, indeed, inspired with the religious fanaticism of Dervishes, nor were they even animated with any hatred of civilisation, but they possessed the dangerous strength of brave and vigorous savages. Man for man, such savages fight better than civilised soldiers, and, when their

numbers are superior, the defects of skill and discipline are readily supplied; the losses of a few thousand men do not affect them, and, if other things are equal, their ultimate triumph is assured. The civilised army may win individual battles or campaigns, but fatigue and fighting thin their ranks; the civilised soldier is an elaborate product of time and money and training, and the gaps are hard to fill. One thing alone ensures him victory—superiority in weapons, the superiority which European troops possess to-day over the savages of Asia or Africa. The Romans had not that superiority. As we have pointed out, the whole ancient world was slow to make mechanical improvements, and the military engines which various Roman writers invented or suggested to repel the barbarians are proof enough of this deficiency. They represent just the same order of intellect as the curiosities of a modern bicycle show.

Not only did the Romans lack this crucial superiority: they were in some matters actually inferior to the barbarians. Much has been written lately in England and abroad about the Imperial army and the general conditions of ancient warfare, and this inferiority has become clear. The barbarians came from the plains of central and eastern Europe, and they came as riders and bowmen. The Imperial forces were principally heavy infantry. A few cavalry squadrons, it is true, were posted at suitable frontier posts, but they were merely border police, totally unable to repel invaders who came in thousands and scores of thousands. The brunt of the defence fell on the heavy infantry, and even the famous legions proved inadequate to face the new cavalry. The battle of Adrianople in 378 summed up the long conflict. On that day a Roman Emperor, nearly all his chief officers and 40,000 men—two-thirds of his army—were overwhelmed by an avalanche of Gothic cavalry. It was a disaster as ruinous as Cannæ, and it was won, not by the genius of a Hannibal, but by sheer fighting. Centuries passed before any competent leader ventured to pit infantry against cavalry. The Romans had already made efforts to increase their cavalry, and this battle stimulated their efforts. They tried now, more freely than before, to enrol barbarian riders to fight the barbarians. When in 450 Aetius won the last Roman victory in the west, in desperate wrestle with Attila, he won by his cavalry: the heavy Visigothic troopers who were with him rode down the light horsemen of the Huns. But it was too late. The increase of cavalry should have been made two centuries earlier, and,

even if it had been made, it must remain uncertain whether it would have been effective without a corresponding improvement in weapons. Renan once uttered the curious prophecy that the survival of modern civilisation would one day depend on the superior skill of the educated classes in the invention and use of explosives. There in an odd French epigram you have the military reason why the Roman Empire fell.

We have now pointed out, as we believe recent research to justify us in pointing out, that external causes overthrew the Empire. The numbers, the skill, and the bravery of the barbarians were irresistible, and the protracted struggle produced serious evils in the state. But though the state fell, it did not fall all at once, nor all of it one way. A small community may be destroyed by a single disaster, as the plague slays a man in a night, but the death throes of great empires last through centuries. In one sense, indeed, the Empire did not die. The new Rome which Constantine founded at Byzantium was impregnable: it could neither be stormed nor starved, and the provinces which lay south and east of it were shielded by the sea from the northern barbarians. There the Roman Empire continued a reality, while in the exposed provinces of the west it gradually ceased to be more than a name. For a little while facts were invented to justify the name. Till 476 it was thought necessary that an Emperor should rule in Italy, and Emperors there were, though they can hardly be said to have ruled. But this was a sham—a mere inferior instance of the power of political custom. The really striking fact of the fifth century in the west is the abiding vitality of the Roman civilisation. The great complex coherent force of that civilisation had never ceased through all the troubles of the third and fourth centuries. None recognised this better than the invaders themselves: none appreciated so well, in their own rough way, the stately dignity of the Empire, and the power of its intricate orderly fabric of political and moral and material life. In two hundred years of struggle they had learnt something of Rome, and they did not, at the last, come as destroyers.

The continuity of the old world was naturally not the same in every province. In Britain the invaders drove the Romanised population more or less completely out of what is now England. In the Balkan peninsula the Huns, and after them the Ostrogoths, nearly annihilated the Latin-speaking population which had hitherto occupied Bosnia,

Serbia, and much of Bulgaria. They left, indeed, only that Rouman people which is so interesting and—it must be confessed—so irritating to the historian. There was even a moment in the sixth century when Rome itself, the Eternal City, was left desolate and empty for six weeks, but that is rather picturesque than important. We shall get from another source a better idea of how provinces came to be lost to Roman civilisation. In the third quarter of the fifth century there lived in Rhætia—more exactly, in the district between Vienna and Passau—a saint called Severinus, whose biography has lately been edited by Mommsen. Severinus was not a very wise man, if we may trust his biographer, Eugippius. He preached fasting and penance as the sole and infallible defence against enemies, and, indeed, against drought also; and the miracles attributed to him, which may be used to illustrate his character, were as useless to his generation as those of any spiritualist quack. But his biography gives us a good idea of the state of the land during his life. A Roman population lived in four or five walled towns, originally fortresses, not without some sort of garrisons, though by whom provided is not clear. There was some little trade on the Inn and Danube, and some cultivation of crops. The people owned nominal allegiance to the Roman Empire, which still ruled the West in a titular fashion, but they had more to do with certain Rugians, who alternately oppressed and protected them and were only too apt to regard them as potentially their slaves. Gradually the situation became intolerable. As one town after another was raided, its inhabitants withdrew from it to the remaining strong places; at last, about 487, they abandoned their last settlement and bodily migrated into Italy. That is why no Romance tongue is now spoken in Upper Austria.

But the greater districts of the west, Italy and Gaul and Spain and Africa, fared differently. Here no abrupt change severed the continuity of civilisation. The constitution, the language and literature, the agrarian system, and much more, survived almost intact. The barbarian chiefs who established themselves in the fifth century considered themselves, and were considered, as no more, at first, than successors of barbarians who had previously taken service under the Empire. Especially was this the case in Italy, where naturally Roman influences were strongest. Theodoric and Odoacer, and the other Gothic chieftains who ruled Rome from the deposition of the last Western Emperor till far into

the sixth century, were Roman citizens and, as such, styled themselves Flavii; they were also Roman officials, Masters of the Soldiers, consuls, patricians, and they had the old Roman bureaucracy under them. They were, of course, more than that. They ruled their Gothic adherents as kings, and in many ways showed that they realised the differences between the two races which obeyed them. But in this curious double position—to which we might perhaps trace contemporary parallels in Egypt or in China—the Roman element was the stronger; and if Justinian's generals had not subsequently chased the Goths out of Italy, it is likely that they would have merged in the Italian population, as the Normans did in England, and that their Gothic king would have become a half-hereditary Roman official.

Similar political arrangements were made in the Frankish, Visigothic, and Burgundian principalities which superseded the Roman provincial administration in Gaul and Spain. These lands were naturally dominated far less than Italy by the influences and associations of the Eternal City and of the old central government, and their organisation was in consequence less essentially Roman and more definitely German. But even the Franks in the north of France, furthest removed from Italy, recognised and accepted the Empire. Their first king, best known to us under the name of Clovis, was a titular Roman officer, and when a Christian bishop wished to write to him in 486, he alluded not to his kingdom or his palace, but to his *Provincia* and *Prætorium*, as he might have done to any Roman provincial governor. The thing, of course, was a sham. The seat of the Empire was too far away; the Franks themselves too numerous, and the Roman administrative machinery in Gaul had been too violently shattered, to let it be otherwise. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy. It shows clearly enough the anxiety of the new-comers to fit themselves into the existing political system of the Empire.

These constitutional compromises are neither the most picturesque nor the most permanent features in the change which the fifth century brought over the Western world. But they are the most significant. Conquerors entering on a rich country might not unnaturally accept much of the material life which they found there. That they should also accept the political order, so far as it could be preserved usefully, is in some sense astonishing, and we have, therefore, emphasised it in the case before us. But the survival of

the Roman civilisation in other less official ways is hardly less remarkable. It is less surprising, as we have said, but it produced more lasting results and affected more departments of European life and thought. Its precise force and limits have been long and often disputed. The same kind of controversy has raged on the Continent as that which exists in England between believers in the Germanic purity of our early English institutions, and believers in the survival of Celtic or Roman institutions and manners. But the Continental controversy has been embittered by national hatreds. Since 1871 French scholars have been biassed against admitting Germanic influences as any serious part of the elements which went to the making of France. They minimise the numbers of the invading barbarians, or explain them away as raiders who plundered and passed on. They emphasise every title and place-name and little detail which mediæval or modern France may seem to have inherited from her majestic ancestor. Their prejudices carry them much too far. But they are not wholly wrong. Modern research is perpetually providing fresh instances of the survival of the Imperial civilisation on the Continent of Western Europe. Let us look at one case, as we know it from abundant literary and archæological evidence, especially in Gaul—we mean the agrarian system.

The soil of Roman Gaul, except the Southern area which we call Provence, was mainly owned by great landlords, who lived in the country, in the middle of their estates, managing their property, hunting and hawking for amusement, and entering a little into the public business of their district or of the Empire. The estates, doubtless, varied in size and value, and were often distributed over various districts, just like the estates of country gentlemen in our own island to-day. A French writer who has collected the available evidence suggests that a thousand acres formed a very small property, while the average may have been as large and differed as widely from the extremes as the average territory of a modern French commune. But the evidence is not very decisive. In one case we learn that two country houses were a longish walk but a short ride apart, which may mean anything or nothing. In another case we find a property near to Epernay in Champagne sold, about 480, for 5,000 pounds of silver, but this again, though plainly a large amount, is somewhat uncertain. Mr. Dill adds a passage in which Ausonius calls a friend's estates *regna*, kingdoms, but Ausonius was here imitating

Virgil and Cicero, and does not seriously indicate area or acreage. The demesne or home farm of these estates was chiefly worked by slaves, the bulk of the land by serfs who might be either Gaulish peasants or immigrant Germans, granted homes on conditions closely resembling serfdom. This system outlasted the Germanic conquest of Gaul. Some of the invaders, at least among the Visigoths and Burgundians, may, perhaps, have annexed to themselves portions of the lands of Gallo-Roman nobles, but it is more probable that they laid a kind of tribute upon them. In any case the landholding system continued with little alteration, and can be traced clearly enough in the documents of the sixth and seventh centuries. Nor did it cease there. It has often been pointed out that numerous French villages derive their modern names from the designations of Gallo-Roman estates. Thus, an early Frank document names a property called Germiniacus, and there seems to be no doubt that this is Germigny, a village in North-Eastern France. So Issy, outside Paris, was Isiacus, and Vitry was Victoriacus, and so for hundreds of instances. Nor is the identity merely in name. There is reason to think that in some cases at least the actual boundaries of these estates correspond to the boundaries of the modern village territory. Boundaries, of course, are very permanent, when no political reason arises for their extirpation. There are four or five spots in Italy and one outside it, at Carthage, where the field roads, intersecting one another at right angles, in chessboard fashion, indicate the survival of the old Roman 'centuriation,' or division of allotments. They have somehow escaped the chances of the long years, and at Carthage even the deluge of Oriental life has spared them. It will not surprise us to find that the boundaries of Gaulish estates have been equally permanent. The extent of these survivals may have been exaggerated by enthusiastic Frenchmen, but they were unquestionably frequent, and their frequency is significant enough. The Gallo-Roman land system passed safely through the storms of the fifth century.

One element was added to it by the Germanic invaders—the village. In Western Europe there are, roughly speaking, two forms of habitation of country districts—the village and the isolated farm or hamlet. You can see the two forms in England. In the east, south-east, and midlands the rural population occupies more or less compact villages, each built round a village green or along a main road or in a little network of lanes. In Cornwall and Wales it occupies scattered homesteads and hamlets; and villages,

save of modern growth, are wholly absent. In Hampshire, for example, there is a Hursley parish and church and village; in Cornwall there is a Tintagel parish and church, but no village nor any place of the kind which has any right to be called Tintagel. Of these two types of habitation the former is the German, the latter is the Celtic, and, as Celtic, was the original type of rural habitation before the Germanic invasions were effected. But the English brought the village with them to our island, and the Franks and other invaders brought it into Gaul. Hence villages are now common all over north-eastern France, and occur in other parts, generally in oases which suggest small areas of German settlements. The introduction of this village system must, however, have been a gradual process, as Frank settlers filtered into and extended over northern France, and to a great extent it is long subsequent to the establishment of the Frank Kingdom. No sudden breach of continuity is involved between Roman and what came after Roman.

In the preceding paragraphs we have tried to illustrate the true character of the great transition which is usually styled the Fall of the Empire in Western Europe, and we have explained the continuity between the Roman civilisation and the beginnings of the modern world at least in Italy and France. This continuity was not unobserved, though it was sometimes misinterpreted by contemporary Romans. The reader who examines the Western literature of the fifth century, or who gathers the essence of it from Mr. Dill's delightful paragraphs, will find himself confronted by two facts. The writers whom he studies, at least so far as they belong to Italy or Gaul, show no great fear or dislike of the barbarians, and, in the second place, they regard the Roman civilisation as sound and quite secure of long prosperity. There are exceptions to both statements. Attila the Hun, with his terrible horsemen, his *terrificæ turmæ*, as Sidonius styles them, was too emphatically a Destroying Angel to be named without deep horror, and the Vandal tyranny in Africa ranked almost with the Huns for cruelty. And as there were bad barbarians, so there were despairing Romans. The priestly authors of the orthodox Christian confession were largely pessimists. Trained as monks, working in a world of powerful and persecuting Arians, expectant of the Second Coming of Christ, they had no inducement to praise their generation, and many of them regarded it as that last and worst age which was to precede the Archangel's

trumpet and the crack of the dissolving world, when the whole fabric of Nature should shake into dissolution and eternal ashes. Their pessimism has branded their age, and induced later writers to believe in its internal rottenness. But against their gloomy and awful expectations may be set the milder and maturer judgements of men with fewer professional prejudices and a wider, saner outlook.

One of the most interesting verdicts of the time is that of Sidonius—in full, Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius, Gaulish noble and bishop. His style is self-conscious and affected: perhaps Mr. Dill is right even in calling it decadent, but it is vivid, capable of striking portraits and brilliant miniatures. We see through it a great noble, who became a great ecclesiastic of that Prince-bishop type which probably survives nowhere to-day unless in Austria. He had leisure and pleasure enough, an abundance of friends, and time to write careful letters to them. He was a noble who met the Gothic chieftains of his day on equal terms. If he had political aspirations, which we doubt, they went back to the days of Postumus and the independent Empire of Gaul, which an alliance of Goth and Gallo-Roman seemed likely to realise in the first half of the fifth century. But he seems rather to have regarded the existing order as a continuation and developement of the old order. Rome, he admits, had fallen, but Porsenna, Brennus, and Hannibal had threatened as much as the worst Goth or Vandal. Porsenna (as he spells the name) had retired in fear from the broken Tiber bridge: Brennus and Hannibal were alike dead, and Rome had outlasted them. So, after the present troubles, Rome would again revive, and the infusion of Gothic blood and Gothic energy might even restore Gaul and the Empire.

Less famous, less important among his contemporaries, but not uninteresting as a counterpart to Sidonius, is a certain Rutilius Namatianus. He is probably less even than a name to most modern scholars; but he is almost the last of the Pagans who gave voice, and whose voice has been remembered. Three years after Alaric sacked Rome, he was præfect of the city; some months later he had to journey to Gaul and protect his estates there against pillage by stray barbarians, and he describes his journey in some seven hundred neat elegiacs. He strikes the same notes as Sidonius—that Rome fell to rise higher. As Mr. Dill eloquently words it:—

‘There is hardly a hint that any serious event has occurred. The temples of the gods are still standing in their dazzling radiance under the serene Italian sky. The cheers of the spectators in the Circus reach

his ears as his ship still lingers in the Tiber. He feels a passionate regret at quitting "this fair queen of the world," so mighty, so merciful, so bounteous, whose visible splendour is only the faint symbol of her world-wide and god-like sway. Certainly there is here no querulous and faint-hearted lamentation over a crushing and appalling disaster. The troubles of the time, referred to in a few vague phrases, are treated as merely vicissitudes of fortune, such as Rome has known before, and from which she has always risen with renewed vitality.'

Rutilius has a good deal of rhetoric on this special point, and occasionally bursts out in such neat conventional apostrophes as his idea of poetry permitted:—

Ages untouched by sorrow shall be thine,
Long as this earth shall stand and stars shall shine.
Thy law it is that joy must follow pain,
Thy losses like the sun's shall turn to gain,
The fiery stars set but to rise once more :
The moon hath bounds, her radiance to restore.

and so forth. It is poor verse, as verse, and does not deserve a fine translation. The undertone of defeat is plain enough here, as in Sidonius, and perhaps Mr. Dill slightly underestimates its reality. But in both writers there is a notable absence of any ill-will to the new-comers, as such, and in both a steady confidence that the Roman civilisation was not dead or decayed. One was a Pagan, one a Christian; we cannot explain the coincidence by their religion or their sympathies. The only assumption—or fact—which will solve their attitude is that the period of transition was proceeding slowly, and that the survival of the Roman civilisation seemed to them secure.

What the barbarians thought about it all we know less fully: they were not men who put their criticisms on paper. But we know the policy of their chiefs in accepting the Roman system, and we possess the despatches which Cassiodorius wrote for his master Theodoric, and which Dr. Hodgkin has made accessible to English readers. Cassiodorius was a pompous windbag, and it would be foolish to press his language. But it must be more than rhetorical verbosity when Theodoric, through him, urges Gaulish provincials to obey the Roman customs and put off the barbarian, or, writing to the Jews in Genoa, orders that everything conducive to the old Roman civilisation should be held fast. But perhaps a more striking instance of barbarian feeling can be detected in a curious out-of-the-way chapter in the history of legend. Everyone knows that the Romans delighted to derive their descent from Trojan ancestors. Everyone equally knows that later, when Rome dominated

mediæval Europe, the early English chroniclers claimed the same origin for the first inhabitants of Britain. It is less well known, perhaps, that the Franks in the seventh century sought also to connect their race with Troy. One of their historians avers that, after the fall of Troy, the Trojans under King Frigia (the Phrygian) crossed the Black Sea to the Danube, migrated across Europe, and finally, led by King Francis, founded a new Troy on the banks of the Rhine. The new Troy is really an old Roman town, called after the Emperor Trajan, and the whole story is a pure fable, wholly devoid of that historical substratum which underlies some legends of migrations. But it and other legends like it show that some at least among the Franks desired to claim kindred with the empire from which they had won a kingdom and inherited a civilisation. The art of inventing ancestors was not unknown in those days, and it was no more then than now a noble art. But its applications may interest the historian, and in this case they illustrate the admiration of the barbarian for the empire into which he entered.

The meaning of all this is plain. It was not internal weakness or decay, but the long storm of barbarians which wrecked the Empire in the west. Evils of many kinds distracted the Roman Government and the citizens of Rome before the wreck was complete; but those evils arose out of the external storm, and neither the one nor the other were sufficient to sap the soundness of the inner life of the Empire. Even the political structure, first reared by Augustus, and repaired by Diocletian, was still powerful upon men's minds, and the fabric of habit in which men had lived was still fit to shelter them. It was able to protect the new nations of the south, the kingdoms of Spain and France, the cities and principalities of Italy, as they rose into life; and its direct influence and its traditions and the magic of its fame and name were potent through the Middle Age. Now it has gone. The title of Roman Emperor, long a mere shadowy title, the mere reflexion of a name, vanished from Europe when this century opened, and, as the same century closes, vigorous Teutonic thinkers are wondering whether the Latin civilisation itself, in France and Spain and Italy, has not at last reached the end of its developement. At such a moment it is not ill to struggle even through difficult historical details to catch an accurate glimpse of how that civilisation passed from the Roman Empire to that modern world which is before us.

- ART. IX.—1. *Actes et Documents relatifs au Programme de la Conférence de la Paix. Publiés d'ordre du Gouvernement.* Par VAN DAEHNE VAN VARICK, Docteur en Droit. La Haye: 1899.
2. *Der Krieg.* Von JOHANN VON BLOCH. (Uebersetzung des Russischen Werkes des Autors.) Der Zukünftige Krieg. Band VI. Berlin: 1899.
3. *Der Ewig. Friede.* VON KARL FREIHERR V. STENGEL. München: 1899.
4. *L'Arbitrage International.* FERDINAND DREYFUS, avec une préface de Frédéric Passy. Paris: 1894.
5. *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to which the United States have been a Party.* By JOHN BASSETT MOORE. Six volumes. Government Printing Office, Washington: 1898.
6. *A Scheme for the Establishment of International Courts, submitted by the London Committee of the International Peace Crusade to the Representatives of the Powers at the Hague Peace Conference.* London: 1899.

THE Conference at the Hague has not, as we write, completed its labours. There is the prospect of other conferences being held to continue the work begun in May; and it is much too soon to pronounce a decided opinion as to all the future results of the heroic attempt to lighten the burdens of an armed peace which has become scarcely less costly and heavy than war itself. But however far the results may fall short of the Czar's design—even though history should class it with the many schemes, praiseworthy, but for a time futile, emanating from princes, statesmen, or thinkers to bring in the reign of peace—the Conference will stand out as one of the memorable events of the century. It is folly to try to belittle the gathering at the Hague. Its shortcomings are obvious. But it is a unique event, about the ultimate effects of which one may not dogmatise, and as to which the most hopeful may prove the wisest.

Everything connected with the Czar's Rescript has been dramatic. It appeared when England was waiting with breathless interest the news of the Sirdar's advance into the Soudan. The Czar issued his call for peace, real and durable, his plea for an arrest in the competition of armaments, which paralysed progress, on the day of the unveiling of the monument in the Kremlin to the Emperor 'the Deliverer,'

Alexander II. He chose Whitsuntide, the season of enlightenment and peace, as the occasion for the gathering of nations. He selected as the place of meeting Holland, the fatherland of Grotius, the chief founder of modern international law. The delegates have been welcomed in the quietest of capitals by the young Queen, whose reign had been looked forward to with hope and desire by her subjects.

To the whole world the Czar's Rescript came as a surprise. The inclination of many persons who sympathised with the object in view was to deride it as a piece of Utopianism, creditable to the heart of the young ruler, but far removed from the regions of practical politics. Many persons saw in the proposal a cloak for crafty and ambitious designs. Russia wanted time to complete the trans-Siberian railway; she needed money for extending military railways generally; the Conference was intended to lull the suspicion of her adversaries. When the work of reorganisation was completed she would begin again her old ways of perfidy and aggrandisement. They pointed as evidence of her insincerity to the reorganisation of the Russian artillery, the increase of the Russian fleet, the policy of intrigue and advance in China, and the rude assault on the constitutional liberties of Finland, mainly because they interfered with the unity of the administration and the military organisation of Russia, at the very time that preparations were being made for holding a Conference of Peace. On the other hand, enthusiasts hailed the Rescript as a priceless boon bestowed by an unlooked-for hand, the harbinger of brighter days for humanity, and the beginning of the long-deferred reign of peace. There seemed no limit to the beneficent possibilities of the near future when the Czar of Russia, the master of the largest armies of the world, became the advocate of peace, earnestly pleaded for disarmament all round, and declared that 'mettre un terme à ces armements incessants et rechercher le moyen de prévenir des calamités qui menacent le monde entier, tel est le devoir suprême qui s'impose aujourd'hui à tous les États.'

In Count Mouravieff's circular of December 30 eight subjects were stated as worthy of consideration. In the first place was mentioned 'entente stipulant la non-augmentation pour un terme à fixer des effectifs actuels des forces armées de terre et de la mer, ainsi que des budgets de guerre y afférents; étude préalable des voies dans lesquelles pourrait même se réaliser dans l'avenir une réduction des effectifs et des budgets ci-dessus mentionnés.'

The main business of the Conference was to be disarmament. The last place was given to arbitration and mediation. It was the Czar's ambition to accomplish what has been the dream and aspiration of many statesmen. Students had conceived schemes of a European concert which would terminate all differences in a great council of the nations, and would one day make war an impossibility. Men acquainted with affairs—Walpole, Metternich, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Cobden, to name only a few—had thought that it might be practicable to terminate, in the words of Lord Beaconsfield, 'a disastrous system of wild expenditure' by mutually, with no hypocrisy, agreeing to a reduction of armaments. It seems a confession of impotence and failure that the Conference should end without having accomplished this object, without having put limits to the ruinous rivalry in military expenditure of the great States of Europe. That confession must be made. Long before the Conference met it became plain that the difficulties in the way of any large measure of disarmament were, for the present, insuperable. All the nations represented at the Hague raised objections. To take our own case, Great Britain could not consent to abandon her traditional policy of keeping her fleet equal to the two fleets of any other two powers; and other nations, with aspirations towards the formation of a colonial empire, were not prepared to see this proportion permanent. To take again France and Germany, the military advisers of the latter country saw in the preparations of its neighbour reasons for increasing its army and fleet. The *status quo*, the natural basis of any arrangement, might be acceptable to States well prepared for any contingency; it was intolerable to others. At a late stage in the proceedings M. de Staal brought forward a proposal that the States of the world should pledge themselves not to increase their armies or navies or their military or naval budgets for some years, an exception being made in the case of Indian and Colonial troops. The exceptions were large and elastic enough to reduce the promise to a nullity, even if it were given by all the States.

To ensure the carrying out of any agreement there must be inspection or control. No one was able to suggest how that could be honestly carried out without intolerable interference. And yet the proposal for a measure of disarmament met with encouragement from practical statesmen. Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Goschen uniformly spoke of it in sympathetic, hopeful terms; and Mr. Goschen gave proof of the sincerity of the Government's

good wishes by announcing that they were prepared not to increase our fleet if other countries did likewise. The new President of the French Republic was well affected and sympathetic. Conversing with a distinguished stranger who had expressed doubts as to the feasibility of the Czar's designs, M. Loubet is reported to have said: 'Monseigneur, 'les utopies de la veille sont souvent les vérités du lendemain.' But it is a far distant to-morrow. Partial disarmament on a small scale may be carried out. Local disarmament—such as that agreed to by England and the United States at the close of the last war, both countries agreeing not to maintain ships of war on the great lakes—may, at no distant date, be possible. But on a large scale disarmament can be carried out only as a supplement or consequence of measures going to the root of some of the causes which divide and perturb, irritate and inflame. The war budgets of the world are the expression of the fears, hopes, ambition, and conflicting aspirations which are abroad. While Germany regards Alsace and Lorraine as 'the glacis of the Empire,' while Frenchmen still talk of revenge, while the Eastern question is still open, and in the Far East an ancient empire is being dismembered, there is little prospect of disarmament.

We are not of those who believe that arbitration can remove or smooth over all the difficulties which imperil the peace of nations. Many controversies lie outside the region of arbitration, and any scheme worthy of serious attention frankly acknowledges this. There are worse evils than war, and one of the greatest would be a craven spirit of readiness to consent to any concessions in order to be able to make money and live at ease. Peace at any price may mean the bankruptcy of national virtue, the great surrender of duties. Nor even where arbitration would be expedient can we look for it being always resorted to. No stipulations in treaties can bind nations when once their passions are aroused. Statesmen who are bent on the aggrandisement of their country will risk all to carry their point, and they will become heroes in the eyes of many of their countrymen by tearing up such compacts. Can the readers of Herr Busch's book fancy Prince Bismarck consenting to submit to any tribunal all outstanding difficulties with France? Would Lord Beaconsfield have been a party to arbitration on some of the points on which he insisted at Berlin? Almost all arbitration schemes—certainly all those seriously discussed, with, perhaps, the exception of the Italo-Argentine Treaty of 1898—

exclude matters affecting the honour of a country or the integrity of its territory.* Under cover of these elastic exceptions any questions can be withdrawn from the region of arbitration when national passion demands it. No more instructive discussion of the advantages, and limitations to the uses, of arbitration in international controversies can be found than in the correspondence between Lord Salisbury and Mr. Olney with respect to the Anglo-American Treaty which the Senate refused to ratify. Lord Salisbury pointed out that a large class of controversies could not be settled by arbitration; and he drew the following distinction:—

‘Cases that arise between States belong to one of two classes. They may be private disputes in respect of which the State is representing its own subjects as individuals, or they may be issues which concern the State itself considered as a whole. A claim for indemnity or for damages belongs generally to the first class; a claim to territory or sovereign rights belongs to the second. For the first class of differences the suitability of international arbitration may be admitted without reserve. It is exactly analogous to private arbitration; and there is no objection to the one that would not apply equally to the other. There is nothing in cases of this kind which would make it difficult to find capable and impartial arbitrators. But the other class of disputes stands on a different footing. They concern the State in its collective capacity, and all members of each State, and all other States who wish it well, are interested in the issue of the litigation. If the matter in controversy is important, so that defeat is a serious blow to the credit or the power of the litigant who is worsted, that interest becomes a more or less keen partisanship. According to their sympathies, men wish for the victory of one side or the other. Such conflicting sympathies interfere most formidably with the choice of an impartial arbitrator. By whatever plan the tribunal is selected, the end of it must be that the issues in which the litigant States are most deeply interested will be decided by the vote of one man, and that man a foreigner.’†

Accordingly, Lord Salisbury proposed to exclude from the provisions of the treaty the graver class of international disputes: ‘Any difference which in the judgement of either power materially affects the honour or integrity of its territory shall not be referred to arbitration under this treaty except by special agreement.’ Replying to Mr. Olney’s criticisms, Lord Salisbury said:—

‘Her Majesty’s Government are not prepared for this complete surrender of their freedom of action until fuller experience has been acquired. In their view obligatory arbitration on territorial claims is,

* See article by M. Ferand-Giraud, ‘Des Traités d’Arbitrage Général et Permanent’ (*Revue de Droit International*, 29, 332).

† Parliamentary Papers, 1896 (C.—8105), p. 4.

in more than one respect, an untried plan, of which the working is consequently a matter of conjecture. In the first place, the number of claims which would be advanced under such a rule is entirely unknown. Arbitration in this matter has never as yet been obligatory. Claims by one neighbour of a portion of the land of the other have hitherto been limited by the difficulty of enforcing them. Hitherto, if pressed to the end, they have meant war. Under the proposed system, self-defence by war will in these cases be renounced unless the claim can be said to involve "the national honour and integrity." The protection, therefore, which at present exists against speculative claims will be withdrawn. Such claims may, of course, be rejected by the arbitrators, if there is no great harm done to the claiming party. . . . The first result, therefore, of compulsory arbitration on territorial claims will not improbably be an enormous multiplication of their numbers.' *

Mr. Olney objected that some of the reservations and changes proposed would destroy the value of international arbitration. In the end Lord Salisbury came round to Mr. Olney's view, and then—strange piece of irony—the Committee of the Senate virtually restored the qualifications and reservations proposed by Lord Salisbury.

Experience of arbitration in private matters does not make one confident as to its complete success in public disputes. In business affairs it is found to have many limitations and shortcomings. It is apt to be tedious and expensive, the results are uncertain, and often the arbitrators, thinking it their duty to be advocates, do not conform to the standard of impartiality observed by judges. There are no signs that arbitration is superseding, or will ever supersede, the action of the ordinary courts of law. A few years ago, when complaints of the 'law's delay' were loud and general, it was suggested that such a change might one day come about on a large scale. We heard much of the Chamber of Arbitration in London, which was to decide promptly and cheaply, and in the light of good sense, questions which the courts failed to deal with or decided tardily and at great cost. The scheme, which promised so much, accomplished little. The business of the courts was unaffected, and at present more commercial cases come before them than at any other time in this generation. This change is mainly due to the ability of Mr. Justice Mathew, who has rendered in the Commercial Court (which is virtually his creation) services of inestimable value. The failure of attempts to oust the courts

* Ibid. p. 12.

from their ordinary work is also due to the necessary limitations of arbitration even in private disputes. For some classes of questions it is the best, and indeed the only satisfactory, mode of settlement. Whether goods are up to sample, whether they are of the quality bargained for, whether a mercantile usage has been complied with, whether conduct is that which business men expect from each other—as to such matters arbitrators are the best tribunal. They do not answer where grave matters are in dispute; where the questions are of law rather than fact; where the manner of procedure is as important as the accuracy of the decision; where guidance in future controversies is needed; and where the parties are too angry to agree to anything. Some of these limitations apply to public arbitration, and others are peculiar to it.

The weakness of all schemes of international arbitration is that perfection of machinery counts for so little, the existence of good faith and goodwill for so much. As Herr von Bloch remarks, the experience of the past goes to show that a peaceful solution of the most complicated questions can be found, provided there is goodwill; without it diplomacy labours in vain. However carefully worded a treaty of arbitration may be, however wide its terms, a State that is disinclined to proceed to arbitration will find plausible grounds for refusing to submit to what is and must be a voluntary jurisdiction. Almost all treaties of arbitration exclude from the jurisdiction of the court or tribunal a large class of important disputes, and a statesman who desires to withdraw the case of his country from that tribunal will be singularly lacking in ingenuity if he fails to show to the satisfaction of himself and his countrymen, who are too often ready to be convinced by appeals to their prejudices, that it is excluded from the operation of the treaty. Even while the Conference was in session the world had an object-lesson as to the limitations of arbitration. The Alaska boundary question was at a deadlock because Canada would not agree to go into arbitration on the terms proposed by the United States. The Conference at Bloemfontein between Sir Alfred Milner and President Kruger failed partly because Great Britain refused to enter into arbitration on any terms. The scheme which the Conference is understood to have agreed upon excepts many subjects from the jurisdiction of the permanent court. Each exception is an open door to those who wish to ignore the spirit of any treaty.

Arbitration is not a panacea for the evils which the Czar deplored; it is a remedy, limited and uncertain in its operations. Undoubtedly, of late there has been no disposition to forget those limitations and its defects as a preventive of quarrels. On the contrary, in the comments on the Czar's Rescript and the Conference there has been a disposition to dwell on them and to exaggerate them; to ignore the teaching of experience, and to forget how much arbitration has become part and parcel of the structure of modern society. When the Conference met there was no widespread knowledge of the good work which arbitration had already performed in international disputes, and no recognition that the Conference was a step forward in a long process of developement. In six interesting volumes, enriched with maps, plans, and copies of all important documents, Professor Bassett Moore has compiled an elaborate history of the arbitrations in which the United States have been concerned. Every reader must be struck by the number and variety of the controversies settled without resorting to arms, the growing habit in modern times to refer to arbitration as a matter of course disputes which diplomacy used to allow to drag on interminably, and, not least, the readiness of nations to carry out awards adverse to them.

No sanction secures the enforcement of awards between nations; no court says, 'Obey them or be punished.' Nations which have been worsted in an arbitration may refuse to submit to the award. But the instances in which this has been done are singularly few. Dr. Darby, the Secretary of the Peace Society, has compiled a long list of arbitrations between States from 1815 to 1897—a list beginning with the arbitration relating to certain islands in Passamaquoddy Bay in 1816, and ending with the disputes as to the frontiers of the Argentine Republic, Chili, and Bolivia in 1898. The list is imperfect; * some statisticians have given very different figures, according as they include special arbitrations and commissions or mediations between Governments. But in the lists prepared by M. Bellaire, M. Donnat, and Dr. Darby the only clear case of refusal to abide by an award is to be found in the dispute between this country and the United States in regard to the North-east boundary. The Americans declined to accept the award of the King of Holland, and the dispute remained open until

* See the note on these figures in Hall's 'International Law,' 2nd ed. p. 381n.

it was settled under the Ashburton Treaty. Nations murmur against decisions which are not to their mind, but they abide by them. The truth is that generally with respect to a large class of disputes—such as uncertain boundary lines, or private claims by the subjects of one country against another—States do not assent to a submission unless they are prepared to obey an adverse award; and that while always averse to admitting liability, or openly making concessions, Governments are not unwilling to substitute for an interminable, irritating, and fruitless correspondence a reference to some arbitrator, and thus relieve themselves of the responsibility of making an inconvenient decision.

Such a question as that referred by Great Britain and Portugal to Signor Vigliani, as to the boundaries of their possessions and spheres of influence in Eastern and Central Africa—a question turning on the meaning of phrases used in the treaty by persons not conversant with the region described, and involving difficult technical questions of geography—could never properly be determined by diplomacy; it might be kept open for centuries. What other way than an inquiry before experts and jurists could be found out of the controversy as to the boundary line between Guiana and Venezuela, a controversy involving the study of some 6,000 pages of documents written in Dutch and Spanish? The dispute between this country and Portugal as to the sovereignty of the island of Bulama depended on obscure facts ranging over a period of four hundred years, and it had been the subject of diplomatic correspondence for nearly half a century. It was promptly and satisfactorily decided by President Grant. We do not agree with those who maintain that only questions admitting of a strictly juridical solution or turning on principles of law ought to be referred. Of a large number of international disputes dependent on complicated and technical geographical facts, a reference to arbitration is the only reasonable solution.

Justice is not done to the labours of the Conference, their significance is not understood, until we recognise that they continue a process of developement which has long been going on, and that they are one of many steps taken of late towards extending, systematising, and organising arbitration in disputes between nations. At the beginning of this century, when difficulties arose as to which States were reluctant to go to war, they were referred to a hastily

improvised tribunal. Few rules of procedure were laid down, or rules, if any, were badly drawn. Probably no statesman thought that a negotiation of a general treaty of arbitration between several States was practicable. By some of the earlier treaties containing arbitration clauses it was provided that the selection of an umpire, always a delicate matter, was to be determined by lot. The seventh article of the Jay Treaty, for example, provided for the appointment of two British and two American commissioners, and for the appointment of a fifth arbitrator or umpire by lot. In the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 was a similar provision. In some treaties concluded in the earlier part of this century the reference was to two commissioners, a friendly State or sovereign being called in to decide in the event of differences between them. For many years the practice was to refer to a sovereign. In the dispute between Brazil and England in 1862, as to the ill-treatment of English naval officers, the question was referred to the King of the Belgians; the dispute as to the sovereignty of the Caroline Islands was submitted by Germany and Spain to the Pope, who decided in favour of the latter. That method has proved inconvenient; there is generally a suspicion that the sovereign's award is prepared in the Foreign Office of his country, and under the advice of permanent officials, who may or may not be capable, and who are rarely able to be absolutely impartial. Of late the tendency has been to nominate as arbitrators well-known jurists or judges of the supreme courts of the world. Thus the dispute as to the Costa Rica 'Packet' was referred to M. de Martens, the well-known jurist. The determination of the dispute as to the Manica boundary was left to Signor Vigliani, formerly President of the Court of Cassation at Florence. According to the recent treaty for the settlement of outstanding differences between the United States and Canada, the High Commission was composed of ten members, most of whom were specialists, five being designated by each country. According to the treaty for the settlement of the Behring Sea seal fisheries, seven arbitrators were nominated—two by the British Government, two by the United States, and one each by the King of Italy, the King of Sweden and Norway, and the President of the French Republic. 'The seven arbitrators to be so named 'shall be jurists of distinguished reputation in their 'respective countries, and the selecting powers shall be requested to choose, if possible, jurists who are acquainted

‘with the English language.’ According to the Venezuela Treaty the reference is to ‘five jurists.’* In short, the day of the amateur is over; the tendency is to employ specialists—one among many points in which international arbitrations are approximating to the procedure of ordinary courts of law.

We may note another stage of developement. The early treaties rarely made provision as to the procedure to be followed by the arbitrators or the principles which were to guide them in deciding. All was left to their discretion. The Treaty of Washington of 1871 was the beginning of a new practice. In that treaty were inserted elaborate and minute rules as to procedure—rules borrowed in the main from the English system of pleading—and in deciding the arbitrators were instructed to apply the famous ‘three rules.’ That treaty also marked an important step in the approximation of the proceedings in public arbitrations to those in courts of law; a tendency which is certain to continue.

In the last ten years a further developement has taken place. Until lately the conception of a treaty between two countries providing for the settlement of all sorts of differences, or even certain classes of differences, by arbitration was familiar only to a few theorists. In recent years we have seen treaties of arbitration between two or more nations by which they bind themselves to submit all questions in difference, with certain exceptions, to arbitration. Switzerland and the United States entered into negotiations in 1883 for a treaty of arbitration with a view to the determination of all disputes. In 1898 Italy and the Argentine Republic concluded a treaty by which they consented to submit to arbitration all disputes, whatever their nature, no restriction being made even as to territorial claims or questions affecting the honour of the country.

The Conference has made a further advance along the same route. The advocates of international arbitration have always said, ‘Nothing of much value can be done until an ‘international court is established.’ But the difficulties in the way of creating such a court, even in a rudimentary form, long seemed insuperable. Even an enthusiast for arbitration, such as Professor Corsi, lately rebuked the ‘impatience’ of his friends, who desired such a tribunal:

* The General Act of the Brussels Convention as to the Slave Trade provides that the arbitrators are to be as far as possible chosen from the diplomatic, consular, or judicial officers of the signatory Powers.

‘ Il est plus aisé de croire qu’on arrivera à notre idéale par ‘ une série toujours plus large et uniforme de conventions ‘ bilatérales entre deux Etats.’ The International American Conference at Washington in 1890, the Inter-parliamentary Conference at Brussels in 1895, and the Association of International Law at Antwerp in 1895, suggested the formation of such a court. But Sir Julian Pauncefote and the American representatives at the Conference were the first practical statesmen to put forward such a scheme. England and the United States have had far more experience of arbitration than any other countries, and the measure of success achieved by the Conference in this field is due largely to them.* From Germany little assistance has been got. She has more than once blocked the way. This is natural. One of the representatives whom she sent to the Conference was Freiherr von Stengel, a member of the legal faculty of the University of Munich, who had written a pamphlet entitled ‘ Der Ewige Friede,’ full of glorification of war as a school of virtue and culture, the touchstone of the worth of states and nations, and full of sneers at the composers of fantastic schemes for promoting peace. Even when not hostile to the aims of the Conference, Germany has been throughout inscrutable, unsympathetic, and without helpful initiative. It no doubt struck her military advisers that the proposed schemes of mediation and arbitration might fetter her action when war was imminent. In modern warfare rapidity of mobilisation—the great virtue of the German military system—is everything. Nations no longer wait for a declaration of war before striking a blow; the formalities and delays prescribed by the old

* Sir Julian Pauncefote’s original proposal was :—‘ A central office will be established permanently at X., where the archives of the tribunal will be preserved, and which will be entrusted with the conduct of its official business. The office will be the intermediary for communications relative to the meeting of the tribunal at the instance of the parties to the litigation.

‘ Each signatory power will transmit to the others the names of two persons of its nationality, recognised in their country as jurists or publicists of merit, enjoying the highest reputation for integrity, disposed to accept the functions of arbitrators, and possessing all the necessary qualities. . . . The signatory powers . . . will select from this list the number of arbitrators agreed upon in the arrangement. They will have, moreover, the power of adding arbitrators other than those whose names are inscribed on the list. The arbitrators thus chosen will form the tribunal,’ &c.

lex fecialis before hostilities began are obsolete; it is a word and a blow; and the blow sometimes comes first. With such a system, the principle, 'Always arbitrate before fighting,' is out of harmony.

And yet it looks as if an international court of some sort—which Lord Salisbury in 1887 declared there was no hope of seeing formed—will be established at no distant date; it is probable that, if not a permanent tribunal, a permanent bureau will be constituted with a roster of names from which a tribunal may be formed. But it can only be a court with very small powers. A true court acts of its own motion and without consent; it cites parties, and punishes them if they do not attend; it hears them; it acquits or condemns; and it enforces its sentences against the guilty. A court thus defined—a court in which the representatives of States A, B, C, D shall decide disputes between E and F, whether they object or not, and obedience to whose decrees shall be secured by the united force of the majority—was contemplated in the schemes of European peace devised by Henry IV. and the Abbé de St. Pierre. The Council-General which the former desired to see established would have possessed a powerful army at its command, and would have been able to treat as 'a common enemy' a prince who disobeyed its decrees. According to the scheme which the Abbé de St. Pierre conceived, the Society or Union of Princes of Christendom were to form a Senate, sitting in the City of Peace; its decrees were to be enforced, and 'Nul souverain ne prendra les armes et ne fera aucune hostilité que contre celui qui a esté déclaré ennemi de la société Européenne.'

It was a feature of William Penn's scheme of a European Diet which should settle differences and make war impossible that a dissenting State should be compelled to submit. The late Sir Joseph Seeley shadowed forth a plan of a European Bund which was to do for Europe what the Federal Union had done for the States of America. He, too, thought that such a Bund must be able to levy troops and to enforce its decrees. All such schemes are still as chimerical as they were in the days of the Abbé de St. Pierre. The proposals submitted to the Conference related to a court which existed and acted only by consent, and which could not enforce its decrees; a court of honour, and no more; not infringing on the sovereignty of the States which agree to a permanent tribunal. We are as far as ever from an Amphictyonic Council or a senate of

Europe, such as the Abbé de St. Pierre conceived. The utmost to be looked for is a court before which no one need appear and by whose decision no one need be bound.

How is such a court to be formed? According to several schemes its members should be drawn from the ranks of the judges of the supreme courts of the various States, who, it is supposed, will be least amenable to political influences, and will presumably possess the requisite influence, prestige, learning, and authority. Any strict rule as to this would prove inconvenient. In Lord Herschell the nation had a valuable public servant admirably suited for the discharge of such duties and possessed of the requisite leisure. On his death the Government naturally turned to Lord Russell as his successor. But it would be a serious inconvenience if he, together with Lord Justice Collins, were withdrawn from their ordinary duties for several months. Were a permanent court of any kind established, and were many cases brought before it, the attendance of distinguished members of the supreme court would be out of the question. Besides, be it said with all respect to the English bench, it rarely includes several men of the stamp and training united which are needed in international arbitration. Our judges possess learning of a kind which French or German lawyers are unable to appreciate. Trained scientifically, well grounded in Roman law, the foreign jurist is accustomed to approach legal questions from a totally different point of view from that which is natural to English lawyers. He does not understand, far less admire, their empirical way of treating legal problems. He refuses to bow the knee to Smith's 'Leading Cases.' And in judging of the expediency of such a rule one must think of other supreme courts than our own. Some eminent persons who do not happen to be members of any court would command as much respect as if they were. For example, M. de Martens, the well-known professor of international law at St. Petersburg, who has had large experience as an arbitrator, would have more weight with the Western world than any members of the Russian judicature. In truth, a class of persons suited for acting either as judges or advocates in such a court has yet to be educated. That is pre-eminently true of this country. The civilians who had experience in international affairs—Gentilis, Zouch, Sir Leoline Jenkins, Sir John Nicholl, Lord Stowell, Phillimore, Twiss, and Dodson—have left no successors. The remark is true also of other countries. Often the arbitrators chosen by them have been, as England knows to

her cost, unworthy of their high calling. Lord Selborne's 'Memorials' gave a vivid picture of the kind of persons into whose hands fell ultimately the decision of the delicate questions which had divided England and the United States, and had brought them to the verge of war—judges whose opinion would have been unsatisfactory if a tailor's bill were in dispute.* Not merely are the ability, learning, and experience requisite for the discharge of those duties rare—the judicial spirit and training which forbid and shun the approach of illicit influences in all their subtle forms are rarer still. Recognising this peril, the majority of modern treaties stipulate that arbitrators shall sit in the capital of some neutral State.† This is not, however, enough to secure the requisite atmosphere of tranquillity. The Behring Sea arbitration is justly cited as an example of the success of this mode of settling disputes. It came near being a failure. When its secret history is told it will appear that Lord Hannen was more than once somewhat shocked at proceedings which a little offended his conception of the position of a judge. No matter what is the place of meeting, arbitrators are exposed unconsciously to subtle extra-judicial influences; and not in one year or many will the spirit which condemns any deviation from the strictest standard of judicial integrity be universal. We suspect that an English court would set aside an award given by persons who had acted with the indiscretion which some arbitrators in public disputes have permitted themselves.

What form of law will this tribunal apply? Is it to be free to act as it thinks fit, or must it be guided by international law? Most of those who have studied the subject have been of opinion that no tribunal can be entirely satisfactory until the basis of a true international law is laid. For the commands of that law as it now exists there are no sanctions. It has other defects. Large parts of it are

* 'Of the three arbitrators, Count Sclopis had in his own country some reputation as a jurist. If the other two had studied law, it was (I suspect) but slightly, and perhaps only for the purpose of his satisfaction. Viscount Itajuba, the fairest man of the three, entered upon the arbitration as if there were no serious question except as to the amount which Great Britain ought to pay.' (i. 253-54.)

† See Professor Corsi's remarks on the decisions of the Commissions constituted to decide claims by Italy, Great Britain, France, and other countries, presided over by Baron Lopez Netto, and sitting in Santiago, in Chili. *Étude sur un Nouveau Traité Général d'Arbitrage*, p. 15.

obscure, and consist of little more than dicta and precedents drawn from different ages, and of uncertain value. There exists no true *jus gentium*, no great body of rules possessing even the moral authority which Roman law long enjoyed in Europe, no generally accepted doctrine of a law of nature to which all countries own that they must conform. In large parts of the subject little else is to be found than the shifting sand of usage and precedents of dubious authority. The attempts made by Bluntschli, Mr. Dudley Field, and others to reduce to the form of a code the principles of international law were premature. They presuppose an agreement which does not exist, and which is still a long way off. Nor with regard to some matters is discernible any sign of an approximation to agreement. To refer to one head of international law—the subject of intervention—what assistance would a statesman receive from the best writers as to the circumstances in which intervention by one Power in the domestic affairs of another is justified? What light could it throw on the right of the United States to interfere in the affairs of Cuba? The books furnish little more than a plentiful supply of contradictory precepts, on which statesmen draw according to the passions or the interests of the hour. And yet it is possible to exaggerate the diversity of opinions and usages in this field; it is somewhat common to do so. Pessimism is not here the fitness of wisdom. Notwithstanding the many differences in some parts of this field, signs are discernible of the growth of a working system of jurisprudence between nations, and nothing will do more to develope and perfect it than an international court, however limited its functions at first may be. The *civitas gentium* which is to embrace all nations of the earth is a long way off, but some chapters of its law, dealing with minor matters, are already written. In regard to copyright, postal matters, telegraphs, the usages of war, have been formed ‘administrative unions’ of various States, which contain the promise of still more important international organisations.*

On one point of detail there has been much discussion. Ought there to be a power of appealing from the decision of the tribunal, and, if so, to what other body? Here again there is a conflict of considerations: on one hand, the advantages of finality; on the other, the advantages of revision when a mistake has been committed. The Anglo-

* Professor Kazansky gives, in an article in the ‘Revue de Droit International’ (29, 238), nine instances of such permanent unions.

American Treaty provided for a re-hearing; so did the American scheme submitted to the Conference. The Italo-Argentine Treaty contemplated revision in two cases: 'S'il a été jugé sur un document faux ou erroné; ou si l'arrêt a été en tout ou en partie l'effet d'une erreur de fait positive ou négative qui résulte des actes ou documents de la cause.' We are inclined to think that the Conference has acted wisely in not complicating the scheme adopted with provisions for an appeal.

From first to last the procedure proposed is voluntary. The proposed permanent court will have no power without consent. Its decisions will have, in theory, no greater effect than the decisions of a club committee. But the work done is of value. At the outset of the Conference the tendency was to speak sceptically of the results. Even the delegates themselves, when they met, seemed to think that their efforts must be futile or academic. Not until they had conferred together and found that business was meant did they take their duties very seriously. The longer they sat, the wider grew the conviction that some of them did not intend to leave the Hague without achieving solid results. In many respects, notwithstanding the contrast between the magnitude of the programme and the meagreness of the performance, it has been a memorable meeting. There has been a gathering of the nomads of philanthropy—men who move rapidly across Europe and collect wherever good works are being done; some of them vain, futile, obtrusive; some with their hearts full of ineffectual fire of enthusiasm; others as wise as they are good. In the air of the Hague was a little of the glow of earnestness which accompanies a religious congress rather than a meeting of sober, sceptical diplomatists. And some of the heat communicated itself to the representatives, who were eager to do business, and to do it quickly. 'They are going too fast,' said one who had spent his life in labouring to advance peace, and who saw, as he thought, more done in a week than he expected to see accomplished in the rest of his days. As a well-informed observer remarked, 'It is gratifying to see on the spot with what earnestness and hopefulness the delegates are attending to their duties as commissioners.'

We entertain no delusions as to the immediate or ultimate effect of the resolutions adopted at the Hague. Much that was attempted is left undone; and even as to the resolutions which have been adopted, it is by no means certain that the countries will ratify the acts of their delegates when the fervour and hope produced by the Czar's Rescript have

passed off. And there are obstacles in the way of the Conference too great to be removed by resolutions. Councils of the Church have tried to arrest human thought at some point, and all to no purpose. Congresses and conferences have also proved powerless to stereotype the map of Europe or stifle impulses and movements in national life. From time to time nations, like individuals, will push to the uttermost their ambition, and stake their all on the dice of war. Some untoward incident will happen when passions are heated: a frontier brawl, orders misunderstood by a hot-headed subordinate, an accident to a cruiser in a foreign port. 'Remember the "Maine!"' or some other exciting cry, will be raised; and even a strong Government may bow to the tempest of popular passions and clamour for war. All modern changes do not make for peace. Sympathy with suffering is greater than it was. The horrors of war are better known than they were; and a spirit of 'jingoism' is rare among soldiers and seamen, who are best able to understand the terrible consequences of a war between European nations. Against this increase of sympathy, this sense of responsibility, must be set off things good and bad: the abiding contrast between the acts of heroism which war calls forth, and the monotony of civil life; the appearance of noble and attractive types of military character—General Gordon is a case in point—the love of sensation to which war ministers; the growth of a 'yellow press,' underbred, under-educated, and irresponsible, which caters for national vanity and the worst forms of patriotism. The roll of the drum is still the most popular music. Around a picture of a striking episode in war gathers the largest crowd. Commerce is not always an agency of peace. In old days men fought for territory; now, it has been said, they fight for markets. And yet, slowly but surely the forces working for peace are strengthening and throwing out new shoots. Where conscription exists the impatience at the burden which it imposes is more marked than it was. We note in those countries the growth of a popular literature of which war against war is the motto. The success of Baroness von Suttner's 'Die Waffen Nieder'; the vast literature relative to arbitration; the fascination exercised by Verestchagin's pictures of war as it is, stripped of pomp and circumstance, tinsel and dazzling accessories, are signs of the times. Preparations for war are redoubled; and yet there is a reluctance to make use of them such as there never was before. In the work which is said to have influenced the Czar in

calling together the Conference Herr von Bloch has composed a terrible indictment against the wisdom of Europe: prodigious ingenuity directed to the art of killing; interminable increase of armies and fleets, with no change in their relative strength; and waste of treasure without end and without result. He draws a picture, probably true, of the slaughter which must take place in future wars, a picture for which the motto might be General Hüseler's saying that on the battlefield of the future there will be none to bury the dead. He predicts battles lasting three, four, or even fifteen days, between colossal armies; battles in which the number killed by modern weapons will be greater than ever before known, but which will generally be indecisive. He quotes alarming figures as to the armed forces of the chief nations of the world: the Triple Alliance with a united force when on a war footing of 5,135,000 men; Russia and France with a counter-force of 5,354,000. He shows how costly is the present armed peace; the war budgets of five of the great States of Europe amounting in 1896 to more than 190 millions sterling. He describes the economic convulsions which must follow a great war; and he foresees a plentiful harvest of pestilence, distress, and discontent.

In these circumstances, and with this outlook, the idea of a Conference was not an artificial, grandiose notion, such as those in which Napoleon III. loved to indulge. It expressed the wishes of multitudes all over Europe, weary of the burdens of an armed peace; of statesmen looking anxiously to the end of this ruinous competition; and of philanthropists who see limitless possibilities of good if only a part of the wealth now given to armaments were spent on other objects. Some powerful personality, eloquent and enthusiastic, might, in countries where the burden is most felt, gather the desire for peace into a resistless mass. A succession of statesmen impressed with the evils which have moved the Czar might do much to stop the policy of 'beggar my neighbour.' The fatalistic spirit in which they have hitherto regarded increase of armaments, as if they were determined by an irresistible force, may be a passing mood. In any case the Conference has helped to educate the nations as to the use of arbitration. England and America have been in this respect the teachers of the world. The object of the Czar's Rescript has not been attained; but it has been advanced, and measures hitherto discussed only by theorists have become part and parcel of practical politics.

- ART. X.—1. *Le Comte de Montalembert*. ‘Œuvres complètes.’ 9 vols. Paris: 1870.
2. *Le Comte de Montalembert*. Par LE VICOMTE DE MEAUX. 1 vol. Paris: 1897.
3. *Lettres de La Mennais à Montalembert*. 1 vol. Paris: 1897.
4. *Correspondance de Montalembert avec Benoît d’Azy*. 1 vol. Paris: 1898.
5. *La Jeunesse de Montalembert*. Par le Père Le Cannet. Paris: 1896–1898.

COUNT MONTALEMBERT died on March 13, 1870. Two years later Mrs. Oliphant wrote his first biography. She set down all she knew about him, but she had evidently only learnt what his friends told her, and what they preferred to publish on her responsibility rather than on their own. Twenty-five years passed by, during which time materials for a more complete life were accumulating. Then, in 1897, Montalembert’s son-in-law, Vicomte de Meaux, announced his intention of offering the tribute of the truth, and nothing but the truth, to the memory of the great deceased, in accordance with Montalembert’s own wishes and ideas, as one of the last members of that intellectual circle to which he belonged. The volume of 300 pages which was to make good that promise has not done so. De Meaux tells the story of the early life of Montalembert, which has been more fully described since then, especially by Le Cannet. De Meaux describes his relations with La Mennais. He discusses his political career during the July Monarchy and the Republic, up to the rupture with the Government of December 2, and then shortly touches upon his last writings and comparatively early death. The mental developement of Montalembert, the opposing ideas which he called into life among the Catholic parties, the puzzling circumstance that their leader, forsaken by his own, fought on single handed unto the end—all that remains unexplained. As it is not likely that so clever a man and so accomplished a scholar could have been unintentionally silent, we hope this attempt may be accepted to fill up the gaps in his history from other sources.

In the year 1819 Joseph de Maistre’s book on ‘The Pope’ appeared. It proclaims the doctrine of Papal supremacy as the foundation of Christianity, and its political power as the best pledge of safety for society. It was dedicated to

the Abbé de La Mennais, as the man upon whose shoulders the mantle of the prophet was to fall. Lamennais (to adopt the now accepted method of writing the name) was born at Saint-Malo, which was also the birthplace of Chateaubriand. He did not, however, become a priest till he had reached the age of thirty-four, in the year 1816. While still a layman, he represented, in opposition to the ecclesiastical polity of Napoleon, which rested on the traditions of the French legists, a whole system of ultramontane pretensions, which were further developed in 1817 in the 'Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion.' The philosophical part of the book contains the theory of a revelation attested by the general recognition of universal conscience, which revelation was perfected in Christianity and the Church, and finally in the Papacy. With the infallible authority in spiritual matters a worldly authority corresponds just as unshakeable—the legitimate monarchy by the grace of God. Indifferentism is the culpable tolerance which does not discern between error and truth, between good and evil. The Gallican doctrines of the State, the freedom of conscience of the Revolution, are rebellions against reason, which must be curbed and subjected to authority.

It is somewhat difficult to-day to understand the effect which the book produced on the youth of Monarchical France in the year 1820. We must realise the passions of that politically excited time, and remember that the author had the gift of an eloquence capable of moving, convincing, and of exciting enthusiasm, and of a style which, when displayed in its brightest aspect, in beautiful clearness or stormy violence, will live as long as French prose.

From the very beginning there were misgivings. Some people were clear-sighted enough to recognise in the apology of Lamennais for absolutism an indication of the impending evolution towards democracy. Pessimism was the prevailing tone of this passionate mind, alien to the world and inclined to fatal exaggeration, and which united a gentle disposition with fanatical hardness.

His next book, 'De la Religion considérée dans ses rapports avec l'ordre politique et civil,' was directed against the atheistical party, which the Revolution evolved, against the democratic and anarchical Government and the enslaving of the Church by the Gallicanism of the State, which latter was called upon, among other matters, to give back the entire education of the country into clerical hands. When Lamennais made this monstrous demand, 15,000 charges

were unoccupied for want of priests, and the clergy were far from being in a position to accomplish the task he desired to impose upon them. The Government, of which he spoke as if it was preparing a persecution for Christians, found itself exposed to the hatred and mockery of opponents, because its policy was friendly to the Church and a bishop was at the head of the educational system. Lamennais' polemical method was so offensive and personal that he was prosecuted, and, although defended by Berryer, he was condemned for libel and sentenced to a small fine.

From this time forth he gave up the dynasty as lost. The French Church remained for him. Almost all the bishops, before they allowed themselves to be carried away by the theocratical and ultramontane stream which was let loose by Lamennais, protested against the theories in the 'Essai.' They were joined by the Jesuits, who were dependent upon the episcopacy and only tolerated by it. In the meantime, however, the new doctrines were adopted by a young generation of priests and laymen, and thus the formation of a Catholic party was prepared whose polemical weapons to this day were forged in the arsenal of Lamennais. His influence reacted upon Belgium, which country appealed in its struggle with Holland to the principle of religious liberty; and upon Ireland, where Daniel O'Connell was struggling for Catholic emancipation. In both countries the Catholic movement was already identified with the cause of the people. It became so to Lamennais after the ordinances of 1828, which, with the permission of Rome, prohibited religious congregations, and especially Jesuits, from teaching.

In his third work, 'Du Progrès de la Révolution et de la Guerre contre l'Eglise,' Lamennais demanded for the Catholics freedom of conscience, freedom of the press, freedom of instruction, as in Belgium, and replied to those who were amazed at his change of front that Liberalism must be Christianised. He no longer thought of the Monarchy. 'Jam foetet,' he answered Berryer, when he was asked by the latter to give moral support to the Polignac Ministry. He saw in the Revolution of July, above all, a social movement, which was justified in expecting from Catholicism, as the organ of the general conscience, the deliverance of the poor and lowly from the yoke of political and social tyranny. The first step to this was the separation of Church and State, and the breaking of the fatal bonds which until now had united the altar with the throne.

The mystic, who in the person of Lamennais was united to the fanatic, thought nothing more natural than to demand from the French clergy the voluntary renunciation of all State privileges secured to them by the Concordat. Thus the alliance of Lamennais with the democracy began, and on October 16, 1830, the first number of the 'Avenir,' with the motto 'God and Liberty,' appeared. The personality of Lamennais did not exercise a less powerful influence than his burning words. He was surrounded by a troop of young men, all of them aspiring and talented, ready to fight under his flag. Among the priests was Lacordaire, then twenty-eight years of age, an open adherent to democracy, who advocated abolition of the 'Concordat,' decentralisation of administration, freedom of instruction, and the right of association, and who strongly held that liberty must be claimed as a right, not granted as a favour.

These men were joined by an unknown youth of twenty, Charles René Forbes, Comte de Montalembert. He was born in April 1810 in London, and had grown up in England, where his father, an émigré, had served as an officer with the British army in India, and had married a lady of an old Scotch family. This gentleman, after the Restoration, adopted a diplomatic career, and the education of his eldest son was entrusted to the care of his excellent father-in-law Forbes, who devoted himself to the welfare of the boy, and laid the foundation of fervent trust in God and the strong feeling of duty which remained the principal features of his character. It was only after Mr. Forbes had died in the arms of his grandson that the education of the latter commenced in a college in Paris. Unusual talent assured him success, but the system of education to which he was subjected left on him the impression that it undermined the religious convictions of youth. With the exception of the fact that his mother went over to the Catholic Church, there is nothing to account for the early convictions shown by young Montalembert and his strict adherence to the Church. The correspondence with his fellow-student, Cornudet, which has been preserved, reveals deep religious enthusiasm, but also ambition and the firm resolution to go his own way. After a stay with Cardinal Rohan, who was a pious but narrow-minded man, Montalembert made the remark that, after he had preserved his faith in the midst of 120 infidels, God would grant him grace to preserve his love of freedom in spite of a couple of absolutists, for whom it was only a chimera.

He read an enormous amount, and besides the classics, had studied the fundamental works of the French, English, and German literatures. He knew his Grattan and Burke as well as his Shakespeare and Milton. He was carried away by Schiller's idealism and lofty worship of freedom, and shared the sympathy of the companions of his youth for the anti-dynastic opposition. After he had completed his humanities, his father tried to restrain him from participating too early in political agitation by calling him away to Sweden, where he was himself French minister-plenipotentiary.

Young Montalembert soon returned to Paris, and attended the lectures of Michelet and Cousin. The latter recommended him to study Kant, and turned his first literary efforts towards English history. Besides the study of law, which he had begun, the young man followed up the romantic movement, and discoursed with Victor Hugo, De Vigny, and Sainte-Beuve as to whether civilisation ought not to be revived by Catholicism. In July 1830 he was in London, on the way to Ireland, when news of the outbreak of the Revolution caused him to return to Paris in haste, in order to draw his sword in the cause of the people. His father, a Royalist, who by the fall of Charles X. lost his position abroad, held different opinions, and urged his son to leave France. Consequently, in September, Charles de Montalembert went to Ireland, the history of which nation he wished to write after he had seen Daniel O'Connell. He was delighted both with the country and the people. The Liberator himself was one of the bitterest disappointments of his life. He imagined that he would meet a statesman and an accomplished orator. He found himself, instead of that, in the presence of an old man, who looked like an honest farmer, and invited him to dance with his grandchildren. Not a word was said about public affairs. O'Connell supposed the young Frenchman to be a harmless tourist, and did not trouble himself any more about him. The next day O'Connell spoke at a banquet in a declamatory manner, unconnectedly, careless in expression, and 'in his opinions a demagogue.' It took years before Montalembert got over the impression which he had received and became just to the Irish Tribune. While in this mood newspapers and letters brought him the programme of the 'Avenir,' which ended in the words: 'Nous avons applaudi à toutes les révolutions faites, nous applaudissons à toutes les révolutions à faire.' The words had the effect

of an electric shock. For years Montalembert had been seeking an aim worthy of his activity and of his enthusiasm. Now, he thought, he had found it, and placed himself at the disposal of Lamennais without knowing him personally. On November 5 he was with him in Paris.

In one of the early numbers of the '*Avenir*,' he earnestly urged the Royalists, in burning words, to give up all useless complaints about that which was irrevocably lost, and to join in the hopes of the Catholic cause. The change in French affairs in the early days of the July Monarchy had awakened in him misgivings, which were not shared by either Lamennais or Lacordaire. They looked upon the kingdom sprung forth from the Revolution as a stop-gap for the republic, and made demands on the Government which amounted to nothing less than the destruction of the whole machinery of administration by which France had been governed since the Consulate and the Empire. Administrative centralisation, the Concordat, the budget for public worship, the monopoly of instruction, were to be replaced by institutions according to the American pattern, and by the complete separation of Church and State.

A radical change of all existing institutions similar to that of 1789 was thus demanded from a Government which hitherto had struggled with difficulty against the chaotic confusion, in the midst of which it was called into being. The mass of the population, on which the clergy were henceforth to be dependent, was so hostile to the Church that there were continual religious riots, and the clergy were threatened in life and limb. Bishops fled from their dioceses, and Lacordaire himself and his clerical colleagues of the '*Avenir*' had to wear lay costume in order not to be insulted in the streets of Paris. But Lacordaire was influenced by no considerations of policy or respect of persons. Before his entrance into the clerical order he had been a lawyer. The attempt to practise at the Bar whilst a priest was frustrated by the opposition of the French lawyers, but he could not be prevented from being himself the speaker for the defence in proceedings in which he and his colleagues were entangled, and it was his strategy which gave a practical turn to the whole agitation. Since December 1830 Lacordaire, together with Montalembert, stood at the head of the so-called '*General Agency for the Defence of Religious Freedom*.' Through this association, which was to be active at first in France, and later on abroad, the editors of the '*Avenir*' tried to persuade the Catholic laity to take a systematic part

in public affairs, and above all to oppose the Government. Nothing appeared to them more important than to secure freedom of instruction, which the revised 'Charter' was to regulate. For this purpose innumerable petitions were got up throughout the country. Then Lacordaire and Montalembert opened a school for Catholic children in the midst of Paris, without first fulfilling the prescribed legal conditions. This school was closed by the police, and the 'schoolmasters,' as they called themselves, were prosecuted.

Meanwhile Montalembert's father died; he succeeded him in the peerage, and as all the accused had to be tried together they were cited before the peers. Instead of devoting themselves to their own defence, they attacked with brilliant oratory the whole university system, and demanded free education. They were sentenced to pay a small fine, and won a moral victory. In just as restless a manner they tried to compromise the Government in foreign politics. The emancipation of the Catholics in Ireland, liberty as it was in Belgium--these were brought forward as models, and every exertion was also made to bring about an intervention in favour of the rebellion in Poland, for which, especially, Montalembert agitated. When the ambassador of Louis Philippe, the Duke of Mortemart, on the way to St. Petersburg, went to meet the agents of the Government of Warsaw, in order officially to declare to them that the moral support of the Powers, and especially of France, could only be hoped for on the basis of existing agreements, and not for open rebellion, the representatives called his attention to the demeanour of the opposition, which would force the King to come and help them. They desired, they said, everything or nothing. Mortemart replied, in vain, that it was his painful conviction that they would get nothing. Whereupon, after eight months' bloody fighting, the complete subjection of Poland led to the war of annihilation against its nationality.

The political doctrines of the 'Avenir' were already condemned by Gregory XVI. when Montalembert made at Paris the acquaintance of the greatest mind which Poland has produced in the nineteenth century, the poet A. Mickiewicz. He translated his famous book of the 'Polish Pilgrims,' adding Lamennais' 'Hymns to Poland,' and a preface, the contents of which induced him later on to attempt the destruction of the whole edition. In this preface, which even

Lamennais thought too strong, Montalembert said, among other things:—

‘Poland is not only one with France, but with Europe, nay, with humanity itself. It is the type of all suppressed convictions, all the betrayed claims to justice, of all smothered hopes. It is even more than that. It is the chosen victim which with its blood is to wash away all the sins of humanity and purchase all the freedoms for which it thirsts. Look at humiliated, deceived Germany, injured by its want of religious liberty, in its elective policy, in its political dignity, which is gagged by princes who have forgotten their oaths, and for whom the German people wasted so much blood and enthusiasm. Look at the unworthy sovereigns of Italy, who, unfortunately for the glorious people they rule over, use such an amount of slyness and subterfuges of all kinds that they have at last succeeded in transforming this paradise of the nations into a political and spiritual hell.’

Later on Montalembert’s language became more moderate; but as long as he lived, especially during the insurrection of 1863, he proved a faithful, but also an indiscriminating, friend of the unfortunate Polish nation. In his interest in their fate he altogether lost sight of their follies and defects, and only remembered their misfortunes.

Whilst Lamennais and his friends were enlisting the sympathies of Europe for the Catholic nations, a rebellion broke out immediately on the accession of Pope Gregory XVI., on February 2, 1831, in the Legations, the Marches, in Umbria, and only the quick intervention of Austria, whose help the Pope invoked at that time, saved the temporal power. At the outbreak of the crisis, when it was still uncertain how matters would end, the organ of the French Liberals, the ‘Globe,’ asked the ‘Avenir’ the awkward question whether it was ready, in case the right of private judgement, which it required for other nations, were granted, to advocate it also for the Roman people. Lacordaire replied that if, against all likelihood, matters should come to that pass, God would find a freer piece of earth for the representative of Christ than Rome, which had been so often humiliated by the princes, ‘for Rome does not mean the stones—Rome ‘is there where freedom is. Intellectual freedom has disappeared from Italy. But, in spite of all fetters, with which ‘rulers try to bind human thought, which has been given ‘by God, the general desire for freedom had succeeded in ‘making itself felt.’ Lamennais, who seldom wrote in the ‘Avenir,’ turned now directly to the Papacy, and called upon it to save mankind. He wrote that ‘the last existing ‘remains of earthly greatness should be thrown off by it,

‘and that, supported by the strong arm of the people, it should renovate society.’

Gregory XVI., an Italian monk, had not an atom of sympathy with such ideas, but until now he had quietly looked on while French Catholics were seeking to establish a universal Papal monarchy on the ruins of all their national and ecclesiastical traditions. It was only when called upon to separate politics from religion, in language very like that of his rebellious subjects, that his Nuncio in Paris received instructions to disavow officially the doctrines of the ‘*Avenir*.’ At the same time the patience of the continually offended and challenged French episcopacy was exhausted. When a young theologian of the Sorbonne ventured during the continual attacks against the Gallican doctrines, openly to insult the memory of Bossuet, the ‘*Avenir*’ was forbidden to be read in several dioceses. Young theologians who shared its views were refused entrance into the Seminary, and finally, after censures by several bishops, on April 22, 1821, the intervention of the Papal See was invoked.

For months Lamennais himself had longed for such a decision. His paper was financially ruined. Its moral influence could only be saved if Rome intervened. He went further, and was convinced that Rome, as monarchy had done before, would rush to destruction if his theories were rejected.

Between Lacordaire and Montalembert there existed an enthusiastic friendship. ‘I love him as if he were a ‘plebeian,’ remarked Lacordaire. Both only lived for their ideas. Montalembert had lost, before his father, his only sister, to whom he was much attached; his mother returned to England and to the Anglican Church; his home was with his teacher and the friends whose works and hopes had become his own. When he heard of the resolution of Lamennais to go to Rome with Lacordaire he determined to accompany them. They made known their decision in the last number of the ‘*Avenir*.’ The paper had existed little more than a year.

Lamennais had already been in Rome, in 1824, where Leo XII. had, in an unambiguous manner, held out to him the prospect of a cardinal’s hat. When he arrived there with his companions towards the end of 1831, he knew that the Jesuits, whom he had attacked, were hostile to him. He felt himself ‘in the uncomfortable silence of the Papal city, ‘surrounded by intrigues,’ and soon after his arrival he

wrote to Paris, to the Abbé Gerbet, that 'the white-haired Pope was in the hands of people who were ambitious, avaricious, miserly, cowardly, blind and foolish as Eunuchs of Byzantium, and ready at all times to sacrifice the Church to the most miserable and misunderstood worldly interests.' Only the Divine promise and the prospect of an impending reform kept up his hopes. 'Twenty years more of such a state of things,' he added, 'and Catholicism is done for. God will save it by the peoples. What do I care about the rest? My policy is the triumph of Christ; my legitimacy is His law; my fatherland, humanity redeemed with His Blood.' Meanwhile, at the desire of the Pope, Lacordaire composed a memoir to justify the point of view adopted by the editors of the 'Avenir,' and, after several weeks' delay, a letter of Cardinal Pacca to Lamennais brought the answer. In it the Pope complained of the stirring up of controversies which must at least be pointed out as dangerous, but promised, after due examination, a decision about the doctrines themselves, and advised Lamennais and his friends meanwhile to return to their homes. Full justice was done to their intentions and talents. On the condition that they would not talk about their business the Pope granted them, on March 13, 1832, a personal interview, in which they were graciously received. Lacordaire, who, up to this time, nobody had surpassed in violence, interpreted the letter of Pacca in the sense that the promise of unconditional obedience towards the authority invoked must be kept, and thought also, that it would be wise to be satisfied with a gentle reproof. He resolved to leave Rome, contrary to the wish of Lamennais, and tried in vain to induce Montalembert to do the same. But the latter refused to forsake Lamennais, who now declared his intention of waiting for the official decision in Rome, and took leave of Lacordaire, apparently without regret. He never had felt drawn to him, whilst he loved Montalembert like a father. They were now to have an experience destined to explain for them their religious by their political position. During that winter, on account of the refusal of all promised reforms, a new rebellion against the Papal rule broke out. The consequence was the occupation of Papal territory by the Austrians, and the result of this was the siege of Ancona by the French.

The 'Curia' had reason to fear that they would not get rid of the protector forced upon them, and the situation became

so much the more painful as Casimir Perier informed the Powers that France was besieging Ancona in order to protect the nation against despotism. Then Russia unexpectedly came forward with the offer to put at the disposal of the Pope a body of Russian troops to be used against all attacks from without. As the only return for this a condemnation of the Polish revolution was demanded. Gregory XVI. paid the desired price in July 1832 in a letter to the Polish bishops, which impressed upon them the doctrine of implicit obedience towards existing authority. The Catholic historian Cantù gave his opinion of this papal action later when he said : 'The Pope, who approved of the 'revolution in Belgium as being occasioned by religious 'persecution, seemed now to outrage a corpse when he 'imposed the command of obedience on Poland, which had 'risen against schismatical Russia and was bleeding from a 'thousand wounds.'

Lamennais wrote, immediately after the letter became known, that the Pope, by such an action, would not save his temporal power : it was melting away on all sides, and it was to be hoped that there would soon be an end of it, otherwise the faith would be entirely lost. A few days after, he and Montalembert left the Eternal City.

The eyes of Montalembert had been turned for years to the Catholic movement which, at the University of Munich, advocated that religion and science should go hand in hand. His attention had been already called in Sweden to Schelling's later philosophy, whose explanation of revelation had many points of resemblance with the ideas of Lamennais. Dollinger, who had been since 1826 a teacher of Church history in Munich, felt a lively interest in French matters, and was the first to give an account of the existing spiritual life of Munich in the 'Mémorial 'Catholique.'

Still these men really knew very little of each other. The two travellers hoped to find in Munich encouragement and sympathy. They were received by artists and learned men with every distinction. Lamennais became acquainted with Schelling; with Franz von Baader, whose philosophy, on account of its extravagancies, seemed to have amused rather than seriously interested him; with Görres, whose mystical ideas of history were supported by an eloquence, the keenness of which may have reminded the two Frenchmen of Rivarol. The Germans, in their turn, were astonished at the inexhaustible dialectics, the extreme

consequences of the logic of Lamennais; but they missed in him thorough education and the desire which they themselves felt so earnestly to understand history. The politics of Bavaria were of very small importance. But there also men were enthusiastic about the Catholic rights. The King, on the other hand—who had to be taken into account in all things—was under the mild and moderating influence of Sailer, the Bishop of Ratisbon, he kept the Jesuits out of the country, and was by no means pleased at the arrival of Lamennais in Munich. The organ of the Bavarian Catholics, the 'Eos,' thought it necessary to make its position clear and to write against his theory of the separation of Church and State. The situation was rendered most trying by the circumstance that Lamennais, on his journey through Florence, had announced to the Papal Nuncio that his intention was to take up again without delay the publication of the 'Avenir.' After a short stay he was to leave Munich. Görres invited him with some friends to a farewell festival, which, after a few German songs had been sung, was followed by an excursion to the banks of the Isar. While at table Lamennais was handed a letter by order of the Nuncio accredited to the Court of Bavaria, which he read through without betraying any excitement. Only later on, when he found himself alone with Montalembert and with Lacordaire, who had, strange to say, unexpectedly arrived at Munich, he broke silence. They were told that the Encyclical 'Mirari Vos,' without mentioning any names, condemned all the doctrines of the 'Avenir' in the severest manner, and especially that freedom of conscience of which it had been *per summam impudentiam* asserted that it was useful to religion, as a false and erroneous doctrine, nay, as madness. An accompanying document written by Cardinal Pacca reproved especially the manner in which dangerous controversies had been brought before the public, and likewise condemned, as contrary to Catholic faith, the doctrines of the 'Avenir' in reference to civil and religious liberty. Lamennais gave his opinion to his young friends that they should submit immediately while they were still in Munich. A communication to this effect appeared in a Paris newspaper on September 11, 1832, and announced the dissolution of the 'Agency' and the final suppression of the 'Avenir.' Görres was edified by this unconditional surrender, and called Lamennais 'an upright, just, and 'religious man,' but, strange to say, 'a meek man' also.

Lamennais, accompanied by Gerbet and Lacordaire, returned to his lonely country house—La Chênaie in Brittany. He took leave of Montalembert at Strassburg, and the last act of the drama commenced. In Rome they were still praising the humility of his surrender whilst he was writing that, ‘forsaken by the bishops, he had sought to save Catholicism in Rome, but that he had found there the most horrible pit of corruption which ever offended the senses. For a piece of land or a few pieces of silver they would sell there the whole human race, nay, even the three Persons of the Holy Trinity.’

So he had turned away his eyes and said ‘Good-bye’ for ever to the past. ‘The day had come, the great day, on which God would take into His hands again the government of the world.’ In other words, the self-erected idol fell to pieces, the Church refused alliance with democracy, the Papacy supported the ruling powers. Pressed by his opponents again to explain himself, Lamennais, on December 11, 1833, repeated once more his submission in a letter to the Archbishop of Paris, and wrote later on, in his ‘Affaires de Rome,’ that he had known quite well, how he had implicitly confessed, that the Pope was God. When he made this confession, the ‘Paroles d’un Croyant,’ which appeared 1834, was already completed.

This apocalyptic book, which announces to the nations a socialistic gospel of the future, has been compared to a crucifix under a Jacobin cap. ‘C’est 1793, faisant ses Pâques,’ * said Royer-Collard. On July 15, 1834, the second Encyclical, ‘Singulari Nos,’ appeared. It condemned not only this book, but the whole philosophy of Lamennais, and resulted in his leaving the Church. Lacordaire had already separated himself from him for ever in La Chênaie, December 1832. But the intercourse between Lamennais and Montalembert lasted until July 1836. He was the last of the circle who did not give up the hope of coming to an understanding with his beloved teacher, he supported him in his poverty until his death in 1854, and he listened to words of fatherly love from him. Not without deep regret the bonds were loosened between them also. The movement in Church affairs seemed to turn for ever from the theories which Lamennais had adopted as his own up to the year 1830. Matters, however, were destined to

* ‘It is 1793, performing its Easter duties.’

change. During the second half of the nineteenth century these theories have been dominating the Papacy, and with it the Catholic Church.

Meanwhile there came a time in Montalembert's life which we may call his 'lyric period.' First he directed his steps to Italy to continue his studies of art. The first impulse had been given by Victor Hugo's 'Notre Dame de Paris' and Rumohr's 'Italian Researches.' Montalembert addressed his 'Vandalisme en France' to Victor Hugo. This inaugurated a renovation of Christian art, and contained a polemical attack on 'The Christian Vandals.'

Such was the origin of a movement which brought about the restoration and preservation of the finest monuments of France, the furtherance of archæological studies, and those of the history of art, by Mérimée, Vitet, Ampère, Salvandy, and Rio, and that in such a way that Boisserée and Reichensperger recommended to Germans to take this movement as a pattern and to imitate it. In the year 1833 Montalembert returned to Germany, visited Boisserée at Cologne, Windischmann, Klee and A. W. Schlegel at Bonn, Frederick Schlegel's widow, Dorothea, and her son, Philipp Veit, at Frankfort. In Dresden he made the acquaintance of Tieck and Raumer; in Berlin, that of Savigny and Alexander von Humboldt, L. von Ranke, Radowitz, Schleiermacher and Bettina von Arnim. At Münster he was kindly received by F. L. Stollberg's widow; at Göttingen he became acquainted with the brothers Grimm, Otfried Müller and Heeren; at Heidelberg with Mittermaier, F. Schlosser and Creuzer; in Swabia he paid a visit to Uhland, Pfizer, and Wolfgang Menzel.

On November 19, when the Catholic Church celebrates the festival of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, her future biographer was accidentally led to her grave. He was induced to see the church, a gem of Gothic architecture. In that forsaken fane the history of Elizabeth's innocent and penitent young life from her childhood to her death was brought before him in picture and sculpture.

He beheld her image, clothed in her Franciscan garb, crowned in her coffin by the hand of the Emperor Frederick. Montalembert saw just at that time, in the history of the marriage of his young friend, Albert de la Ferronnaye, analogous circumstances. He was still under the influence of the conflict which troubled his life in consequence of his connexion with Lamennais. His friends urged and besought him to

follow the voice of his catholic conscience, and to regain his freedom. The ideal form of the holy landgravine brought him the solution of the difficulties with which he was struggling. He went to Munich, to his friend Döllinger, and under his advice he studied her history. Then he made a pilgrimage to the places where her short earthly life had left some traces. Whilst Lacordaire commenced his brilliant career as a pulpit orator in Paris, Montalembert completed the *Life of St. Elizabeth*: 'Legend of the Time when Faith existed,' so he named his book. He does not lay claim to historical veracity, for he entwines legend and history and veils the truth, which in its simple expression would have done more to glorify the bright form of the Landgravine of Thuringia than all the adornments of imagination. By her side there arises, dark and threatening, the dreaded form of her taskmaster, the judge of the heretics, Konrad von Marburg. The sources from which Montalembert drew prove that he was acquainted with the works of Konrad. And yet he has the courage to assert the perfect impartiality, and even the popularity, of the man—an assertion which sounds like mockery when one knows in what consisted, according to the judgement of German bishops, this impartiality, and what horror the mere mention of Konrad's name produced. 'It is a charming book,' was the remark of King Louis Philippe, 'but one might think when reading it that the author himself believes what he writes.' As in the case of Lacordaire's *Life of St. Dominic* and Count Falloux's *History of Pius V.*, it has not, with all its warmth and intensity of feeling for beauty of soul, freed the writings of Catholic historians from the stain of untruthfulness, and we perceive the quicksand on which their notion of historical responsibility reposed.

The books of Count Montalembert determined his fate in life. His daughter, in order to justify her resolution of taking the veil, referred him to his 'Monks of the West.' Montalembert's wife was of the house of Mérode, whose pedigree is interwoven with that of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, and whose patriotic sacrifice and liberal catholic ideas during the Belgian revolution of 1831 gave its head the prospect of a royal crown. After the marriage—in December 1836—the young pair visited Rome and Gregory XVI. This time the Pope touched upon the past, spoke of Lamennais, and, spreading out his arms, he said, 'Questo Abbate voleva dar mi un potere, un potere del quale io non avrei saputo che fare.' He praised the con-

duct of Louis Philippe, and hoped the clergy would not have anything to do with politics.

Since 1835 Montalembert, being twenty-five years of age, had the right to take his seat among the peers. His first speeches, directed, in accordance with the ideas of the Liberal opposition, against the Government, showed again the wonderful powers as an orator of which he had given his first specimen when accused before the peers. Almost simultaneously with his entrance into public life he took part in founding a political organ, the '*Univers Catholique*,' in order to plead for the interests of religion. Although reconciled to the July Revolution, friendly to many of its leading statesmen, and Orleanist in the real sense of the word, there arose very soon within him a strong feeling against democracy and a growing and rising admiration for the liberal and aristocratic institutions of England. Already in the year 1840 the remark fell from his lips that, with the exception of all questions of foreign politics, he did not belong to the Left. The commencement of his parliamentary career was interrupted by journeys to the East, to Germany, to England, Spain, Portugal, Madeira, and also by the purchase of the Castle La Roche-en-Breny, which became his favourite abode and there his three daughters grew up. From Madeira he dated in autumn, 1843, the manifesto '*On the Duties of the Catholics concerning the Question of Instruction.*' This manifesto gave rise to a struggle which lasted eight years, the various occurrences of which are, however, outside the limits of this article. The leading thought of Lamennais, of freeing the school from the guardianship of the State, united Catholics and Liberals on this question. Among the former were the laymen, who drew the clergy and episcopacy into the movement; they created a new organ for their cause, the '*Correspondant*,' which counted among its co-workers all the talents of French Catholicism. We name L. de Carné, Foisset, Chateaubriand, Villemain, Ballanche, Ampère, Ozanam, Gratry, Perreyve, de Barante, Bautain, Gerbet, Rid, Ekstein, Reboul, Riancey, Ch. Lenormant, Saint-Marc-Girardin, A. Cochin, and Dupanloup. Lacordaire returned from Rome in the white dress of a Dominican monk, which he wore with such complete devotion to his duties as a member of the order that the mortifications to which he resigned himself shortened his life. But at the same time he made a political confession of faith, in which he desired freedom for himself, but also for his adversaries,

and called out to his opponents, in agreement with Abbé Dupanloup: 'You have caused the Revolution of 1789 'without us and against us, yet for us.' Montalembert made, not the King and his Ministers, but the Catholics themselves, responsible, if they did not succeed in breaking by lawful means the monopoly of the university and in bringing back to a society, which had become atheistical, the consciousness of the moral power of religion.

At that time, in the year 1843, a man of extraordinary talents, offensive and violent in his polemical writings, honest in the convictions he had regained, and unsparing in his attacks and in the means which he chose for the defence of his cause, Louis Veuillot by name, became the leading personage on the staff of the 'Univers.' His very first appeal to public opinion showed what was coming: 'You 'fear the Church, but you will be forced to wish what she 'wishes, for you only exist because she allows you to 'do so.' Some of the bishops and men like Ozanam protested against the exaggerations of a controversy which accustoms laymen to sit in judgement on the clergy, and defended, against the unlimited attacks of Catholics, the academic colleges, which contained many pious Christians. 'I have tried in vain to preach moderation,' Alexis de Tocqueville wrote at that time, 'but now I can do 'no more, and the question of education is subject to chance, 'just as most affairs are.' Montalembert put forth the demands of the Catholic party from the tribune of the chamber of peers with fervent eloquence, and with great polemical skill and rhetorical power. His fatal exaggerations, however, were destined to fall on his own head. 'We are not dangerous for you' is the famous apostrophe of one of his first utterances, 'but we do not 'fear you. And in the name of the Catholic laity of the 'nineteenth century I may add: In the midst of a free 'nation we will not be helots. We are the descendants of 'the martyrs, and do not tremble before the offspring 'of Julian the Apostate. We are the sons of the Crusaders, 'and shall not yield to the sons of Voltaire.' His opponents were Beugnot, Barante, Cousin, Guizot, Villemain, Rossi (who was later on the minister of the liberally minded Pope), the Duc de Broglie, and men of the law like Dupin, whose protest Affre, the Archbishop of Paris, energetically refused to condemn. And Montalembert himself had brought about the election of this excellent archbishop. Although he was thoroughly acquainted

with the earnest religious opinions of men like Guizot and De Broglie, he refused all attempts to come to an understanding, rejected all proposals, and erected a State within a State, from which all were excluded who, if they were not against him, were not for him. 'I should not like a Catholic party to exist, for then there would no longer be a Catholic nation,' said Ozanam in the year 1844. The warning came too late, but the plan of Montalembert to get a new organ for himself in the press marks his first quarrel with the 'Univers.' He firmly maintained that it was freedom alone which he desired, and he extended its broad shield over the order of the Jesuits, whose claims one of their noblest priests, De Ravignan, put forward with moderation. Against the will of the episcopacy, but with the support of the Nuncio, the Committee for the defence of religious freedom was called into life. When, in 1845, the Government negotiated with Rome direct about prohibiting the Jesuits to remain in France, Montalembert declared that, although he was himself ultramontane, he saw in such a step an exaggerated ultramontanism, and identified the cause of the order with that of the Church. The ambassador of the ministry of Guizot was Rossi, and it was he who carried into execution the official closing of the houses and novitiates of the Society of Jesus. 'We remain unconquered,' replied Montalembert. 'Our opponents will find us again, in one hand the Gospel, in the other the Charter.' His programme for the elections of 1847 demanded free public schools, right of association, periodical summoning of the provincial councils, administration of Church property by the clergy, and the abolition of the organic articles.

Arrived at this point, the noise of party struggle became less audible in the storms of foreign politics. The free State of Cracow lost its independence in consequence of a revolutionary movement. The rising of peasants in Galicia, which cost hundreds of victims, had driven Montalembert already, in the year 1846, to accuse the Austrian Government of complicity in the horrors which were committed against the nobility. In consequence of this a violent controversy arose between him and a journalist who defended the policy of Metternich in the '*Historisch-politische Blätter*;' whereupon the Margrave Wielopolsky supported in a letter to Prince Metternich the accusations of Montalembert. Pius IX. came to the papal chair. The way was prepared for his moral mission by Gioberti's book

on 'the Primacy.' 'Una splendida Utopia' Montalembert's excellent friend Silvio Pellico called it. It was more than that. It started the idea of the Italian Confederation, the head of which was to be the Pope, and whose sword was to be Piedmont. The 'Speranza d'Italia' of Count Cesare Balbo, directed against the foreign rule of Austria, demanded in the most solemn tones the delivery of the Fatherland from foreign yoke, and made much of the utterance of Montalembert that 'Christian nations cannot die.' Massimo d'Azeglio's 'Ultimi Casi di Romagna' was sent as a warning to the Pope to replace an arbitrary government by the rule of justice, and asked the daring question, 'Either that which you are writing of God's justice and of an awful judgement in another life is untrue—then my words are foolish, and you are right not to trouble about them; or that which you teach is true, and you yourselves are convinced that God, calling you to account, will say to you, "I have given you a nation, what have you done with it?" Tell me what excuse you will have for your actions, for I am incapable of finding one for you.'

The answer of Pius IX. to the prayers and remonstrances of the Italian patriots was the amnesty, and his first reforms, of the year 1847. Austria occupied Ferrara; Charles Albert made preliminary preparations which pledged his monarchy to the national cause. Scarcely fifteen years had elapsed since the condemnation of modern constitutions by his predecessor, Gregory XVI., and now the Pope allowed to the lay element the right of control, and promised constitutional guarantees. The excitement caused by this event in France was immense. The greatest of modern Italians, Alessandro Manzoni, was closely allied with French Catholics, and among these latter with Montalembert himself. Dupanloup, Ozanam, and Lacordaire went to Rome. The latter was protesting in the most emphatic manner against the politics of the Jesuits, and Gioberti was doing the same in his 'Gesuita Moderno.' The Jesuits had identified themselves with the view that Europe must sooner or later, but inevitably, come under despotic rule again. Since the year 1814 all their projects were founded on this assumption, and the movement of 1830, far from teaching them better, only confirmed them in this idea. The fall of Lamennais, and the Encyclical which caused it, strengthened their belief that the constitutional doctrines were reprobate, and if they sometimes talked of freedom

with Montalembert, it was a meaningless phrase, for they never advocated, by one stroke of the pen, the use of this new and dangerous weapon.

Now, the general of the Theatines, once the friend of Lamennais, announced with enthusiasm from a Roman pulpit, in his funeral oration on O'Connell, that the Church would baptize Democracy, this untamed heroine, as it had once done the barbarian, and anointing her forehead, would call upon her to rule. 'This Pope,' said the general of the Jesuits, 'is the scourge of the Church; the only remedy is the great bell of the Capitol'—the bell rung at the death of a pope. Reaction and revolution contested for supremacy in the Papal States, when the religious and political quarrels, which had troubled Switzerland for years, ended with the defeat of the Catholic cantons and with the expulsion of the Jesuits in November 1847. The demeanour of Metternich during the Swiss confusion increased the sympathies of the Italian Liberals for the victory of the Swiss central power, when the State consulta, which consisted of delegates from the provinces, was opened in Rome. This gift of the Papacy, which Rossi designated as 'the beginning of the end of the political power of the clergy,' was accompanied by demonstrations against the Jesuits. Pius IX., deeply hurt, answered them by praising the Society of Jesus as the most glorious of all religious communities. While in Rome the opinion was beginning to prevail that a fatal misunderstanding existed between Italy and Pio Nono, Montalembert, in December 1847, did homage to the liberally minded Pope, and congratulated him on having given up the weak and despised Austrian Papacy for the Italian Papacy, with its difficulties and dangers—the Papacy of the future. A Christian revolution would have to separate the cause of anarchy from that of progress. The independence of the Holy See was of interest to all Christian, all Catholic nations, and must not be destroyed by foreign powers or by the tyranny of party spirit. A few days later he called the cause of the Sonderbund that of order and freedom. The fighting in Switzerland had not been for or against the Jesuits, or the rights of the Cantons; it had been a contest for or against anarchy and the peace of Europe. The annihilation of the last fraction of Polish nationality in Cracow by the absolute monarchies, the destruction of freedom at Lucerne by so-called Liberals, were equally attacks against right.

While Montalembert spoke thus, he knew that the revo-

lutionary movement threatened the French Government itself. In the same remarkable speech he called himself 'an adherent of parliamentary reform,' but he declaimed against the reformers and against the character of the opposition which was being formed against the Government. He appealed against the coalition of the radical elements, which recalled 1792 and 1793, to the alliance of honest people, to defend what they had gained in 1789 and 1830, and with such eloquence, that even his opponents had to confess that from henceforth he must be reckoned among the very greatest of French orators. He himself declared at this time that he had suddenly become the idol of the Right. They understood his speech as an indication that he had broken with the Revolution. Lacordaire failed to see in it the difference between the question of national union in Switzerland, for which the Centre vouched, and the anti-religious movement, which had only been an episode of the fight. No one suspected that it was the song of the swan, the death struggle of the Paris Chamber, at which they had been present.

It was characteristic of Montalembert that the warmest acknowledgement which he ever showed to the fallen Government was expressed in an address to the electors of the Department of the Doubs, who nominated him as deputy for their constituency. He lamented the revolution which had taken place, but he promised to serve the Republic, if the Republicans would make it their duty to protect religious liberty, property, and the family, according to the example of the United States. Under the July Monarchy he had remained separated from the Opposition without joining the party of the Right. He now joined the struggle against radicalism and sat on the Extreme Right. He accepted the triumph of the democracy on condition that it should mean the emancipation of the individual, and he warned his opponents, on the eve of the insurrection of June, that the centralising omnipotence of the State would deliver them over to absolutism. Lacordaire advocated in the 'Ère Nouvelle' an alliance of the Church with democracy, and thereby caused Montalembert to join Louis Veuillot and the 'Univers' again, from whom in 1847 a difference of opinion in connexion with the Italian question had separated him. Lacordaire renounced his mandate as deputy in May, immediately after the invasion of the Assembly by the mob, but he supported the candidature of Cavaignac for the presidency in the

autumn of 1848, while Montalembert secured to Prince Louis Napoleon the support of his party. During a conversation between them, the Prince expressed his preference for decentralisation and freedom of education. The pledge which he gave after his nomination on December 10, 1849, was the selection of the Legitimist and Catholic deputy, Count Falloux, as Minister of Public Instruction. Falloux, an intimate friend of Montalembert, was disliked by Veillot and his party as being in favour of a moderate policy and ready for compromise. A few days before the election of the President, on receiving the news of the flight of the Pope, whose place of refuge was still unknown, he proposed to protect Pius IX. by French arms, and offered him an asylum in France. When the Left demanded, instead of this, the intervention of France against the Austrians in Lombardy, Montalembert rose. As in 1847, but with much greater determination, he separated the cause of the Pope from that of every other Sovereign, and called on the French Republic to save the religious freedom of 200 million Catholics in the person of their Head. If this was only possible at the price of granting protection to other worldly princes at the same time as to the Pope, he expected that it would be done. The constitutional development of the institutions of the Papal State had not been given up; but nevertheless the impression remained that the welfare of the subjects of the Pope was not insisted upon with the same vehemence as the urgent necessity of restoring the temporal power. The new President still tried to obtain from Pius IX. at Gaëta the grant of reforms and constitutional guarantees. When this failed, he too pledged himself to a policy, which Thiers defended, and said that he himself was not a Christian, but a Papist. Thiers thought, like Montalembert, that every diminution of temporal power must increase the spiritual claims of the Papacy. Montalembert, on the road upon which he had entered, was induced to confess that demagoguery had killed freedom in Rome, and its adherents were given the lie. A Pope who, forgetting the experiences he had made, tried to carry it through, would forfeit the confidence of the Catholics.

In the Legislative Assembly elected in May 1849, the Monarchical parties had an enormous majority. The President and the Ministry joined them in order to annihilate the Republican minority. Montalembert supported the exceptional laws against the press, political unions, and lay

instruction. He defended the independence of the magistrates. He and his friends succeeded, together with Falloux, Minister of Instruction, in concluding by a compromise the struggle of years for the freedom of education. The University remained, but the competition of clerical and private institutions was free. The religious communities also whom the State did not recognise were granted the right of founding schools and institutions for study. The supervision over the higher schools was shared by the University with school boards of the departments which included the bishop, the prefect, and elected members of the General Council. The public school, which was neither compulsory nor free, was watched over by the clergyman and the mayor. Masters could be removed. The granting of degrees was retained by the University. Such was the general tenor of the Falloux Law of June 18, 1849. Montalembert, as President of the Parliamentary Commission, recommended it to the support of all true Liberals, to the patriots and believers. Veuillot revolted and hoisted the flag of opposition in the 'Univers.' The new educational scheme was the apparent, not the real, cause of the quarrel.

Since April 1848, Count Falloux was of opinion that there was no object in maintaining the Catholic party, and that it should be dissolved. The cleverest journalist and at the same time the cleverest pamphleteer of the day was not willing to break so powerful an instrument. 'Vous avez formé un corps de lansquenets,'* said Dupanloup to Montalembert; 'à présent que vous prononcez le nom de paix, ils se révoltent contre vous, eux qui ne vivent que de pillage.' It was specially owing to the demeanour and the words of Montalembert that the law amending the educational system was voted for on March 27, 1850. 'Thanks to the participation in guilt of certain Catholics,' the 'Univers' wrote, 'the monopoly of the State in education has been sanctioned by law.' From that time the Catholic party slipped out of the hands of those who had been its leaders hitherto. The Conservative party won its last victory on the Franchise Bill of May 31, 1850, which deprived 3,000,000 electors of the franchise. Louis Napoleon owed his election to the office of President to the wider suffrage. After the vote of May 31 he let it be understood that he thought of re-establishing it again, and he strengthened his personal power.

* 'You have formed a body of hirelings.'

The Monarchists deserted him. A parliamentary conflict arose which was ended by the *Coup d'État* of December 2. Montalembert placed himself on the side of the President as the only possible, and in consequence the only legitimate authority, and the chosen sovereign of 5½ million Frenchmen.

The conviction that Louis Napoleon alone was able to save France from Socialism was shared in those days by no less a person than Tocqueville, who in July 1851 considered his re-election as unavoidable, because there appeared to be no alternative and the country was seriously alarmed. 'I think that the Bonapartist stream, if at all, can only be 'turned off' by the revolutionary one, which would mean increasing the danger. The situation may possibly become 'so critical that I myself might be forced to advise letting 'the people accomplish the breaking up of the constitution.'

But Tocqueville had no illusions on the subject. He calls Louis Napoleon, as to his constitutional ideas, just as 'imperméable' as Charles X. On the other hand there is no doubt that Montalembert saw the 'social knight' in the light of the Roman expedition, but did not see through him. The *Coup d'État* had been made without his knowledge. Louis Veuillot approved of it, the Catholic press also, and Montalembert justified it in the 'Univers.' The Catholic party had become a political one, and, for the last time, Montalembert wrote its manifesto. With the exhortation not to forget the Roman expedition, he conducted it into the Bonapartist camp. The laity were followed by the clergy, the episcopacy, and at last by Pius IX. himself. At last there appeared on January 22, 1852, after a succession of violent measures, the decree by which Louis Napoleon confiscated the property of the house of Orleans. On the same day Montalembert indignantly asked for his dismissal as a member of the Consultative Commission of December 2. A short time before his death he wrote, looking back at this episode, 'If my illusions lasted fourteen days, my repentance 'has lasted fourteen years, and it will only end with 'myself.'

Until the year 1857 he led the sham existence of a deputy, and his voice died away unheard 'as in a pit without light 'and air.' His public life was at an end. The man stood alone. But the storms which he had passed through did not very quickly abate. The only public honour which was bestowed on Montalembert was his election to the Academy in 1852. In the speech which he made at his reception in

praise of Droz, his predecessor, an historian of Louis XVI., he spoke of the revolution as 'une sanglante inutilité,' which had waged war against the foundation of order, of authority, and of the social hierarchy, and desired their annihilation. The good which it had done would have been accomplished without a revolution; the Christian ideal founded on justice fell a victim to democracy. In the same year Montalembert closed his account with the Catholic party in his work, 'Des Intérêts Catholiques au XIX^e Siècle.' With the exception of Lacordaire, who left for ever the pulpit of Notre Dame in order to regain freedom of speech, of Falloux and Dupanloup and a small band of followers, Catholic France stood at the side of the victorious Cæsar. Montalembert reminded his co-religionists of everything they owed to constitutional freedom, and of the solemn duties which they had undertaken concerning it. He spoke no longer in a decided and confident tone as in the days before 1848; but his attack on the Gallican Church reminded men of Lamennais and of the insults of Louis Veuillot. Tocqueville found only shades of difference between Montalembert and Veuillot, and remarked: 'Ce sont les nuances qui se querellent, non les couleurs.' The majority of French bishops tried once more to stem the bursting flood of ultramontane doctrines and tendencies by condemning them. But bishops and priests were insulted in the 'Univers' under pretence of avenging the Holy See. This is what Cardinal Donnet wrote at that time. It was too late. Louis Veuillot appealed to Rome, which recommended moderation, but at the same time directed the bishops to protect the press.

The Archbishop of Paris had to withdraw his condemnation of ultramontanism. The last remains of the building at which the great theologians of the French Church had worked, their breviary, their liturgies, their doctrinal books, disappeared, and were replaced by compilations such as Rohrbacher's 'Church History,' which, as Montalembert writes, sought 'the origin of Communism, Socialism, and all vices and errors, in Protestantism.' The growing conception that he had been active at a work of destruction induced Montalembert to create an organ of political opposition, as protest against the school of the 'Univers,' in his newly organised 'Correspondant.' The consequence was that the clergy turned against him, and hence he was unable to obtain his re-election as a legislator. A work by Falloux, 'Le Parti Catholique, ce qu'il a été, ce qu'il est devenu,' now appeared. It threw a strong light on the division in

the Catholic camp. Montalembert's essays on the political future of England and 'England's Rule in India' described the grandeur and developement of power of the Victorian era in contrast to the absolutist governments. He wrote:—

'The modern world began to be convinced that they had indeed sinned grievously against God and his Church for the last 300 years, and was trying to rid itself of the yoke of lies. If any one wishes to thrust them back into their former hatred of all things good, and to call back all the spiritual excesses of the eighteenth century, there is an infallible means for it. It consists in either telling a lie yourself, or approving of other people's lies for the honour of God.'

Montalembert was prosecuted and convicted for his attacks against the Government. He was pardoned by the Emperor, and was now in the position of a general without soldiers. In the year 1852 he had been already denounced in Rome. This denunciation produced no result, but he now found himself continually suspected, and was shamefully attacked, in the 'Univers.' In the year 1859 the Emperor found him again among the determined opponents of the policy of intervention in Italy and of the Italian alliance. 'Everything has contributed to the victory of Cæsarism,' he wrote to a German friend, 'even the badly employed science of the Mommsens, the Troplongs, the Merivales, the Cornwall Lewises, who transported him to historic ground and smothered the great traditions of the Roman republic in scepticism, in order to praise the good fortune and progress of the world under the humiliating yoke of the Emperor.'

Montalembert only declared himself on the Italian question when Central Italy voted for union with Piedmont. In opposition to Lacordaire, who described the position of the Church as untenable, Montalembert condemned the programme of Cavour, compared his politics with those of Machiavelli, and declared temporal power indispensable to the Church. The 'Correspondant' rejected not only the recurring idea of a Confederation, but also the notion of the possibility of saving a clerical state by force of arms. The 'Univers' cut itself loose from the Imperial policy, and defended the temporal power as a divine institution. In spite of that the 'Correspondant' held out once more the hand of peace, on condition that Louis Veillot should break with absolutism in politics and religion. The latter refused to modify his tactics in any way. Montalembert's brother-in-law, Mgr. de Mérode, became War Minister of the Pope, who appealed to arms. Then followed Castelfidardo and the revolution in Naples. Before the assembled Parliament

at Turin, Cavour quoted a passage in the work on Catholic Interests, which tended to show that its author looked to the revival of religious spirit from freedom alone. Montalembert replied that Cavour was for United Italy and for Garibaldi, but that he himself was for the Confederation, for morality in politics, for right and conscience, for Lamoricière and Pius IX. It was he, not Cavour, who desired a free Church in a free State. Lacordaire spoke differently. He recognised the necessity of the temporal power, but he expressed his desire for the deliverance of Italy, for the remodelling of the Roman Government, and for the abandonment of the policy which the 'Univers' represented in Paris and the 'Civiltà cattolica' in Rome. He wrote to an ultramontane bishop in 1861 that the 'Univers,' which had arisen from the dust of the doctrines of Lamennais, was the negation of the Christian spirit and of sound common sense, and the greatest insolence which ever sheltered itself under the name of Jesus Christ. Liberal Catholicism was now dancing on the point of a needle.

Then, on March 18, 1861, a papal allocution appeared, which lamented the deception of those who, 'in opposition to the eternal laws of divine justice, speak of reconciliation with progress, with liberalism, and with modern civilisation, and at the same time call themselves the 'friends of religion.' These were the last words which Lacordaire heard from Rome. He died on November 21, 1861, in the college at Sorèze, which he had founded, and remained to the end 'a penitent Catholic and an impenitent Liberal.' He had to fight against Ultramontanism even in his own order, which he had reconstituted in France, but he was immovable in his love for the religious ideal to which he had devoted his life. With his death and the decease of other friends the circle thinned which had collected round Montalembert during thirty years. He himself, already ill, isolated and overburdened with work, interrupted the publishing of a monumental book, 'The Monks of the West,' to which he had devoted all his remaining strength, in order to write a sketch of Lacordaire for the benefit of posterity. He did so with hearty eloquence, and with a feeling of substantial mental agreement no longer disturbed by differences of opinion. The last doubts about his own position disappeared when the International Catholic Congress called him to Mechlin in 1863. The speeches made there, and which he published later on under the title 'L'Eglise libre dans l'Etat libre,' are the protest of a ripper

experience and deeper insight against arbitrary power and against the constraint and oppression of conscience. He greeted the alliance of Catholicism with political freedom as the inevitable but happy event of a democratic age, and rejected every attempt to go back to the conquered past as a worthless Utopia.

'I feel an unconquerable disgust for all the tortures, decrees of banishment, and deeds of violence,' he said, 'which have been imposed on mankind in the name of serving religion.'

'The stakes which were lit by Catholic hands inspire me with as much horror as the scaffolds on which Protestants sacrificed so many martyrs. The gag, in the mouth of any one who with a pure heart announces his faith, causes me to feel the pain between my own lips. The Spanish Inquisitor who says to the heretic, "The truth or death," inspires me with the same horror as the terrorist who said to my grandfather, "Liberty, fraternity, or death." The human conscience has the right to demand that it should no longer be subjected to such alternatives.'

Montalembert recommends the Church to assume the part of a mediator between the individual and the State, to work for freedom of education, and association against the action of a levelling democracy. The answer of Rome to the Congress of Mechlin and to the Congress of Catholic learned men which met about the same time in Munich came December 8, 1864, in the shape of the Encyclical 'Quanta Cura,' and the Syllabus added to it.

'I was in Paris,' Montalembert wrote, 'when the "Encyclical" appeared, and the general consternation it caused to all well-intentioned people can only be compared with that which prevailed after the catastrophe of February; as for me, I required, during the days after its publication, less comfort than at this present moment, for solitude and meditation only increase my grief.' *

Scientific periodicals, such as the 'Home and Foreign Review,' others which were principally political, as 'Brownson's Review' in the United States, were placed in the dilemma either to give up their principles or to attack hostile authority. They refused both solutions, and retired from the scene. The editors of the 'Correspondant' expressed the confidence 'that the defence of the Church and the perfecting of political institutions might be successfully continued in the sense of freedom.' An example in this direction was set by the attempt of the Bishop of Orleans, Dupanloup, to weaken the shock in his paper on

‘*La Convention du 19 Septembre et l’Encyclique du 8 Décembre.*’

‘*L’Evêque a fait un tour de force,*’ Montalembert wrote on January 30, 1865,* ‘*mais ce n’est que cela ; c’est le chef-d’œuvre du subterfuge éloquent. Il a voulu nous sauver, et il a fait pour cela un effort surhumain, sans compter qu’il y a dans son écrit des pages vraiment pathétiques et généreuses. Mais il ne reste pas moins démontré que le Pape nous a donnés en pâture—moi surtout son vieux soldat—aux mâtins et aux roquets de sa basse-cour.*’

He was the first to show the untenableness of the strategy of the ‘*Correspondant.*’ When the Austrian Concordat had been concluded ten years before, Montalembert had prophesied that this concession of absolutism would not last. Now, when the laws of May 1868 were in part abolishing it, a papal allocution, of June 22, 1868, condemned the laws confirming freedom of all opinions, of faith, conscience, and doctrine, which granted permission to the adherents of every creed to found institutions for instruction, and classed as equal all religious communities of whatever kind they might be. After this allocution, an article of Montalembert’s, ‘*L’Irlande et l’Autriche,*’ which he had already commenced to publish, was not continued. The allocution itself, the contents of which condemned the principle of equal rights for all, was not referred to in a single syllable of the ‘*Correspondant.*’ Veuillot opposed the protests of some of the bishops, especially those of Dupanloup, and also those of laymen, by pointing out triumphantly the glories of Rome and the blessings which the Pope had conferred himself.

Montalembert might consider himself fortunate that his study of the past made up to him for the confusion of the present. His original plan of a history of St. Bernard had been extended to one of the Western monks. In this book the poetical writer of the Life of St. Elizabeth showed himself a critical historian. He overcame the monotony of the matter by his brilliant talent of description ; he called again to life the founders of European culture and of Christian morals. The figures of Benedict and Columba illustrated the work of civilisation, which proceeding from

* The Bishop has completed a powerful piece of work, but that is all ; it is a masterpiece of eloquent subterfuge. He wished to save us, and for that purpose he made a superhuman effort without counting that there are in his writings some really pathetic and generous pages. Yet it is very clear that the Pope has given us up—and me especially, his old soldier—as a prey to the mastiffs and curs of his yard.

Lerins, Monte-Cassino, and Iona, completed the conversion of the barbarians. What Montalembert gained by industrious researches and what was wanting in them has been told by Littré among others, who, although he was a stranger to the religious point of view which the historian of the monks adopted, yet acknowledged with delicate feeling that no one was better justified in erecting a monument to the activity of their religious enthusiasm. The work remained incomplete. Montalembert had been suffering for years, and now he had become so ill that he was beyond recovery. Events, however, were taking place in Church and State in the face of which he could not remain inactive. The Emperor was growing old, and in view of the difficulties which his personal government of seventeen years had brought about both in domestic matters and in foreign affairs, and of the complications caused by the wars of 1859 and 1866, he resolved on giving back the guarantee of freedom demanded by the Opposition. Rouher, who had hitherto been the leader of the Ministry of Napoleon III., was replaced in December 1869 by the Cabinet Ollivier-Daru-Buffet, and in the same month the Vatican Council, which had been promised since 1864, was opened. Already in December 1867, after the defeat of the Garibaldians by the French at Mentana, Montalembert wrote to Germany to a friend:—

‘ Je conviens avec vous que l'on a fait trop de tapage à l'occasion de cette victoire, et cela, avec le mauvais goût qui caractérise la presse religieuse ; mais ne faut-il pas pardonner quelque chose à ces pauvres catholiques, qui n'ont jamais été victorieux que cette seule fois depuis le commencement de ce siècle ? Pour moi, sans méconnaître les côtes vulnérables et défectueux de tout ce qui s'est passé à Rome dans ces derniers temps, je me suis certainement associé à la satisfaction bien légitime que la déroute de Garibaldi et de Victor Emanuel a excité dans tous les cœurs catholiques. Sans être le moins du monde rassuré sur l'avenir, j'ai joui de voir le dévouement vraiment héroïque de nos zouaves pontificaux soutenu et surtout apprécié par le sentiment national et militaire du reste de la France. J'ai joui surtout de voir l'infâme presse italianissime, depuis les “ Débats ” jusqu'au “ Courrier ” Français, déjouée dans ses efforts acharnés pour exciter l'esprit public contre la seconde expédition de Rome ; comme en 1848 et 1849, l'intérêt catholique a prévalu parce qu'il n'était pas seul en jeu, parce qu'il s'associait aux meilleurs instincts sociaux et politiques du pays, et de plus à l'indignation aussi universelle que légitime suscitée dans l'armée et ailleurs par le mélange singulier d'hypocrisie et d'effronterie qui caractérise les Italiens. Je suis d'ailleurs bien sûr que vous aurez joui comme moi de la prodigieuse victoire remportée par M. Thiers et

de la résurrection du gouvernement parlementaire due à son génie. Ce qui vous aura fait encore plus de plaisir, comme à moi, c'est de voir le salut du St.-Siège assuré (au moins provisoirement) par l'éloquence, par la discussion publique et la lutte au grand jour et par tout ce que les Catholiques ont si misérablement renié depuis 1852. Aussi suis-je bien tenté de croire qu'on aurait préféré à Rome une bonne note de M. de Sartiges à toute l'éloquence de M. Thiers. Mais n'importe; ce qui se passe en France, comme ce qui se passe en Autriche et partout ailleurs, démontre l'inanité radicale du vieux système protectionniste que l'on essaie en vain d'appuyer sur une théologie vermoulue, et qui s'écroule de toutes parts.'

We must mention here that a last journey of Montalembert to Germany, Austria, and Poland, in 1862, had confirmed him in the conviction that Prussia would undertake to play the part of Piedmont. His patriotism took alarm and increased his antipathy against Italy. For safety from danger he looked to the nation's active interest in its fate, and wrote his political testament, '*L'Espagne et la Liberté*,' with the intention of bearing witness for freedom, both as a patriot and a Christian. In burning words he unfolds the history of the decline of a nation through the absolutism of the State and religious persecution by the Church, and turns towards its apologists of the present, concluding with these words:—

'I am not called upon to give instruction to the Pope and the bishops. But if I were, and also supposing that they would discuss questions of politics and religion, which move and rule the world, I would beseech them not to mistake as the voice of the believers that of fanatics, who create for us in newspapers, which are only too much encouraged and too well recommended, an impossible position. I would beseech them to take into account the aspirations, wants, and duties of the crowd of Christians who claim a share in the life of the country, the people, the times in which they live. They are not studying theology, they erect no system, no doctrine, they only beg that it should not be made impossible for them to live. They prevent no one from living according to the views of the twelfth or seventeenth century, if it so pleases them, but they themselves wish to live in accordance with the spirit of the times in which God has placed them, with the arms, dress, ideas, rights, and customs of the present age. They condemn no one, but they do not wish to be condemned themselves. They demand that they may not be called upon to have two moral laws, one of theory and one of practice, one for the pulpit and the confessional, the other for private life. They do not wish to be reduced to the art of fencing of a casuistry which in the long run must prove untenable, the consequences of which would be equal to the English penal laws against Catholics, and which would leave to all upright and straight-

forward minds the alternative of a gradual desertion of the Catholic community, or the complete exclusion from all public positions, all participation in citizenship, and in the intellectual, social, and political life of the country.

'They exclaim, All is lost, while in reality nothing is lost, but matters turned out differently from what we thought, wished, hoped. "As long as I could," said the great Count de Maistre, who has been grievously misunderstood, "as long as I could, I have preserved the hope that the believers would be called upon to construct the edifice anew, but it seems to me as if new workmen were coming forth from the obscure darkness of the future, and as if His Majesty, the Providence of God, was saying, *Ecce nova facio omnia.*"'

After 1867 the combat of theologians raged about the decisions of the coming Council. Manning and Deschamps tried, together with French bishops in Rome, to carry in a decree the infallibility of the Pope by acclamation. At the same time the '*Civiltà cattolica*' proposed to the Catholics that they were to vow 'to die for this dogma if necessary,' and demanded the proclamation of the doctrine of the *Syllabus*.

In France the Bishop of Orleans, Monseigneur Dupanloup, Maret, Bishop of Sura and Dean of the Theological Faculty of the Sorbonne, and the Oratorian Gratry came forward in opposition. Maret declared, in answer to the endless attacks on Bossuet and the Gallicans, that the Council was directed against the French Church and its past. Montalembert gave his article on Spain and Freedom to be printed in the '*Correspondant*.' It was rejected, and he wrote to a friend: 'That is what we owe to the approach of the Council, and we may say with the Apostle Paul, "*Miserabiliores sumus omnibus hominibus.*"' A remark of his that no one could suspect the Papacy of wishing to ascribe to itself a direct or indirect authority over temporal matters originated in the year 1840. He answered those who reminded him of his accusations against Gallicanism that, seeing the attacks against it, he also felt himself guilty. Having passed through the school of Lamennais, which weakened and compromised the Catholicism of his contemporaries, he also had been unjust to the old French clergy. But nothing had been known in those days of the pretensions and doctrines of modern Ultramontanism, and no one could have suspected that they would sacrifice to the Idol erected in the Vatican justice and truth, reason and history: 'I thank Heaven that I never thought, said, or wrote anything which might have been in favour of the personal, separate infallibility

‘ of the Pope, as they wish to put it upon us, nor of theocracy or dictatorship.’

What he longed and desired for the Church is contained in the address of the laymen of Coblenz in July 1869, with which he joyfully concurred. In contrast to Ultramontane views, they demanded the renunciation of the theocratical claims of the Middle Ages, reform of clerical education, the participation of laymen in the Christian and social life of the parish, the abolition of the Index, and the holding of national and diocesan synods.

In January 1870 the ‘Correspondant’ contained a letter from Rome, in which Vicomte de Meaux gave an account of the commissions and business arrangements of the Council, which had been opened on December 8. He wrote :—

‘ The plans are arranged beforehand, the order of business is forced upon them, the commissioners are elected *before* every consultation, according to official lists, by a disciplined majority, who vote like one man. There is no minority in these commissions. These general features cause us to recognise an assembly called upon not to discuss but to approve, which is destined to increase the power of those who have summoned them together, instead of moderating it.’

The end of the matter was easily foreseen. One of Montalembert’s lady relatives troubled him with the question, what position he would take up in the case of the proclamation of the dogma of papal infallibility. He replied that he would fight against it as long as possible, and then submit; he was not a theologian; he had not to make the decision. Long before that, in the year 1866, he had written to a friend that he had been the witness and the victim of two great apostasies, which history would record—that of liberally minded Catholics in the year 1852, and that of the constitutional Bourgeoisie. Now he was covering his head like sick Hezekiah, not to ask prolongation of his life, but to lament because he had lived too long.

On March 13, 1870, death delivered him from physical torment and mental anguish. He died suddenly, not unprepared. His last walk, a few days before, had been to his parish church, there to receive the sacraments. Pius IX. heard of the death of Montalembert on the day of his decease. There was an audience in the Vatican, and the Pope said, ‘ A man has died who has rendered services to the Church. He wrote a letter, which I have read. I do not know what he said at the moment of his death; but one thing I know, that this man had a great enemy—

‘pride. He was a liberal Catholic—that is to say, half a Catholic. Yes, the liberal Catholics are only half Catholics.’

Such was the farewell of the ‘*Ecclesia militans*’ to Count Montalembert. No other was possible in that connexion of events from which Providence developes the logic of history. It has freed his name from further association with the deceptive image of the Church’s rule over the world, with which the gloomy, despotic spirit of Lamennais has led astray political Catholicism. For it was Lamennais who organised the lay element for the combat, who drew out a distinction, not on the basis of religious faith, but on the shifting ground of political opinion, who, by his denial of the principle of historical developement, undermined the traditions of national churches, and, while he combated centralisation in the State, helped to develop centralisation in the Church. A despiser and opponent of the episcopal system, he accustomed clergy and people to set aside the bishops, and appeal to the incessant and direct intervention of Rome. It was he who sharpened the weapons of journalism for all purposes of impatient and aggressive polemical controversy. The ‘Catholic Party’ was called into being by the controversies of the ‘*Avenir*.’ Montalembert led it to victory with the motto, ‘Equal rights for all.’ It left him in its hour of triumph, and disowned liberty, to which it owed success. Montalembert wavered and hesitated. He tried to bring about an impossible reconciliation between changing political claims and the unflinching laws of conscience. But the day came when he acknowledged, ‘*Il faut être un bien meilleur chrétien que je ne l’ai été, mais il ne faut pas vouloir appartenir au parti catholique.*’ His gentle friend Augustin Cochin assented to this view when he said: ‘*Parti catholique, déplorable mot, catholique de tous les partis.*’

Looking at Montalembert’s life from the point of view of political leadership, it was a failure. He knew it well, but he clung firmly to the hopes of his youth. He entrusted the future of coming generations to Christianity built on the immoveable foundation of religious life and the doctrine of all times. He believed that the nations would become strong under the shelter of political and religious freedom, and welcomed the progress of the world and the work of the human mind as part of the Divine ordinance.

In his inner life he experienced the mysterious strength which alone can assuage the thirst of the soul. ‘Let us not

‘ forget,’ he wrote when nearing the end, ‘ that the humble
‘ silence to which we are condemned, in face of a public
‘ which mocks us and justly triumphs at our defeat, is only
‘ the tribute for the blessings which religion grants us in
‘ those inner trials for which the most liberal statecraft and
‘ the deepest and most honest philosophy have nothing,
‘ absolutely nothing, to offer.’

- ART. XI.—1. *China. No. 1 (1899). Correspondence respecting the Affairs of China.* [C.—9131.]
2. *China. No. 2 (1899). Correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the Russian Government with Regard to their Respective Railway Interests in China.* [C.—9329.]
3. *Treaty Series. No. 11 (1899). Exchange of Notes between the United Kingdom and Russia, &c.* [C.—9241.]
4. *The Break-Up of China.* By LORD CHARLES BERESFORD, M.P. London and New York: 1899.
5. *China in Transformation.* By ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN. London and New York: 1898.
6. *Speech of the Right Hon. St. John Brodrick, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons, June 9, 1899.*

THE titles of two of the works in the above list indicate the apprehension and perplexity as to the future of British interests in China which have prevailed for some months, and which still prevail amongst us. Is China to be broken up or transformed? On the answer to that question hang issues which, if not of immediate gravity, will nevertheless ultimately prove to be of serious, indeed of momentous, importance. Since we discussed the matter last* several things have happened. The public in general has paid increased attention to Chinese affairs. They have been noticed in Parliament repeatedly, and quite recently have been the subject of an important debate in the House of Commons. An arrangement—correctly termed by her Majesty's Ambassador in St. Petersburg a 'Railway Agreement'—has been effected between our Government and that of Russia, which is encouraging and—as far as it goes—satisfactory. The increase in the public attention has been due in some measure to the stimulus imparted to it by Lord Charles Beresford's mission, undertaken on the invitation of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. This, of itself, is a beneficial result of the mission; whilst we have to thank the envoy also for a volume containing much useful information. We are not in agreement with Lord Charles as to all his views; but this does not preclude us from acknowledging our debt to him for the instructive

report which he has compiled, to which we shall make frequent reference. We have to express our obligation also to Mr. Colquhoun for his interesting and pleasantly written volume. It is the work of a practised writer specially qualified to treat of the condition of China.

We have called our article 'The Problem in China,' because we do not admit that the 'break-up' of that empire is really in progress or necessarily inevitable; whilst its 'transformation'—however desirable or certain—is still in the future. That present conditions cannot last, no special foresight is required to perceive. It is by the possibility or impossibility of substituting thorough reform for disruption that the momentous issues to which we have alluded—issues which concern the fate of Asia and of more than Asia—will be decided. The decision will depend largely upon the action of Great Britain. In the interests of the general peace and prosperity—at the risk of being charged with unctuousness, we will say in the interests of humanity at large—it is obligatory on us to adopt the right policy, and adopt it soon. Mr. Colquhoun puts this strongly. He says:—
'We are now at the parting of the ways, and the failure to take the right course will mean the loss of the commercial supremacy of England, and eventually the disintegration of the empire' (p. 343).

A remarkable change has been wrought in a short time in the way in which Western nations regarded China and its people. In 1893,* only six years ago, we were warned by a scholar and historian of the menacing probabilities of the power, due to its increasing population, of the Chinese Empire:—'No one can doubt,' we were told, 'that if China were to get for sovereign a man with the organising and aggressive genius of Peter the Great or Frederick the Second, it would be a very formidable neighbour to either British India or Russia.' We were bidden to 'Assume fifty years hence that China has taken its inevitable position as one of the great powers of the world.' The remarkable thing in connexion with these assertions is, not that they merely defined the views of a solitary student, but that they were, if not generally, at least widely accepted as correct. Visions of the career of progress of the Western peoples being obstructed beyond hope of advance by an impermeable barrier of the Yellow Race were called up: and the phrase

* In a volume entitled 'National Life and Character: a Forecast,' by Charles H. Pearson. London and New York, 1893.

'The Yellow Terror' was invented or revived to summarise the gloomy prospect opening out before the Occidental nations.

China's nearest neighbours on the north, the Russians, may not have been influenced by these forebodings, but there is plenty of evidence to prove that they regarded that empire's power as a thing not to be lightly encountered. The restoration of the greater part of Kuldja, and the inconvenient course chosen for the most easterly section of the Siberian Railway, could have had no other cause. In a few months the whole mental attitude of the West towards the Farther East seemed to have undergone a great and startling change. The military party in Japan was able to bring about a war with China. The Chinese defence collapsed utterly. Once more it was demonstrated in the plainest manner that physical courage in the ranks, and even occasional conspicuous self-devotion, are of no avail if the leaders are corrupt and inert. Japan was hailed as almost a great power, and China, having fallen too low for pity, was now looked upon as simply a fitting object for spoliation.

Yet we may notice already a reaction against this view of the situation. Lord Charles Beresford, in spite of the title which he has given to his book, frequently assumes that the 'break-up' is not inevitable. Indeed, he suggests methods for avoiding it. To support his contention that we ought 'to maintain the integrity of the Chinese Empire,' he makes the following remarks:—

'If it be objected that China itself is effete and rotten, I reply that this is false. The traditional official system is corrupt, but the Chinese people are honest. The integrity of their merchants is known to every banker and trader in the East, and their word is as good as their bond. They have, too, a traditional and idolatrous respect for authority, and all they need is an honest and good authority' (p. 440).

An examination of the memorandum of the China Association dated Shanghai, October 6 last,* will show that the members of that body believe that 'the maintenance of 'China's integrity' is possible. Though Mr. Colquhoun fears (p. 92) that 'nothing, perhaps, can prevent its eventual 'break-up,' he evidently thinks that this is improbable. He says (p. 357), 'Even although the empire appears to be 'now breaking up, it is capable, under tutelage, of becoming 'consolidated.' He quotes with approval the observation of Mr. A. H. Smith, an American authority, that 'if the

‘teaching of history as to what happens to “the fittest” is ‘to be trusted there is a magnificent future for the Chinese ‘race.’ He himself goes even farther than this—his own words being these:—

‘In considering the future of the Chinese race, therefore, we have this enormous double fund of capacity to reckon with—capacity of muscle and capacity of brain; and we have only to imagine the quantitative value of such an aggregate of nervous force when brought into contact with the active spirit and the mechanical and mental appliances of the West, to picture for ourselves a future for China which “will astonish and appal the world”’ (p. 255).

We believe that we are interpreting rightly Mr. Colquhoun’s view as being not so much apprehension of the disruption of China as apprehension of its integrity being maintained, and being used with tremendous effect against ourselves. We must not be accused of labouring this point too much, for any policy which fails to recognise the possibility of Chinese durability can in the end be based only upon counsels of despair. Our desire is to check a too ready acquiescence in the opinion that China has nothing to look for but exhaustive partition, and this, too, whilst fully bearing in mind what was said in our former article as to Kiao-chau, Port Arthur, T’alienwan, Wei-hai-wei, and Kowloon. It is wise not to make too certain of the continued existence of the Chinese Empire, but between that and prematurely abandoning all hope of it the difference is great indeed.

We have already noted* the change in conditions since the Farther East was connected with the West by sea-communications only. The developement of Eastern Siberia and, particularly, the construction of a line of railway from Europe have undoubtedly affected the relative positions of Great Britain and Russia as regards China. It is not surprising, indeed it is only natural, that the Chinese authorities should be specially attentive to the proceedings of their nearest neighbour, which Russia, in effect, now is. Educated Chinamen must occasionally remember the quarter in which prolonged conquest of their country more than once originated. We ought not to ignore facts, though we need not assume that they must of necessity tell against us.

The facts of the case may not have been deliberately ignored; certainly they have been missed or misunderstood

* Edinburgh Review, No. 385, p. 255.

Lord Charles Beresford, no doubt unwittingly, has helped to propagate and continue the misunderstanding. Over and over again he affirms his preference for the policy of the 'Open Door' over that of—as he phrases it—'Spheres of Influence.' It is a pity that, in discussing the question, he did not use the exact phrase—'Spheres of Interest.' The niceties of diplomatic terminology may often seem absurd to the ordinary man, but there is a real difference between the two terms. It is not necessary to define the difference at this moment. What is meant by a 'sphere of interest' will become apparent as we proceed. Lord Charles, it should be said, is not alone in believing that the two policies are mutually destructive. In the Shanghai memorandum already quoted it is said that 'the two policies are directly opposed to one another.'

We believe this to be a great mistake; so far from being antagonistic, they are in reality complementary of each other. The Government, undoubtedly, has acted in accordance with this view. Lord Salisbury has tried—how strenuously and successfully as far as immediate issues are concerned will be learned by a perusal of the official papers—to preserve for us both the 'open door' and our proper 'sphere of interest.' It is encouraging to find that there has been no failure to follow up the policy hinted at rather than described in the speeches of Lord Salisbury, Mr. Arthur Balfour, and Mr. Chamberlain, which were quoted in our previous article.

Though we are not called upon to specify the difference between a 'sphere of influence' and a 'sphere of interest,' we must explain the distinction between the latter and the 'open door.' British subjects are in China principally, and hitherto have been there almost exclusively, as traders. We have gone there and have established ourselves there to sell, to buy, to import, to export, to do business 'on commission,' to provide the necessary means of sea conveyance for the commodities exchanged in the resulting commerce. Of the great trade thus created we have by far the largest share. A prominent 'bank official,' quoted by Lord Charles Beresford (p. 22), stated that 64 per cent. of the whole foreign trade of China is British. This does not show the full proportion of our interests. Much of the trade done by other Western nations in China is really ours.* In addition to this the statistics of our shipping are so large

* Beresford, pp. 104, 161; Colquhoun, pp. 328, 332 (*note*).

that the common statement that 80 per cent. of the trade is British is no exaggeration. What the policy of the 'open door' aims at is to ensure that this commerce is not impeded, *and*—we emphasise the conjunction—that its legitimate expansion is permitted.

Of late years foreign (Western) interests in China have increased beyond the progressive expansion of the ordinary commerce. Foreign capital has sought investment there with the object of developing the natural resources of the empire. A teeming population suggests the formation of organised industrial establishments; whilst—especially as this population goes on increasing—it demands not only more trade, but also improved means of communication. The great mineral wealth of several provinces has long lain unused for want of capital and the reasonable measure of security which permits of its remunerative employment.

There is no greater mistake than to suppose that the Chinese in general are disinclined to avail themselves of Western improvements in the conveniences of life. The conservatism of the people in general is much more rational than we give them credit for. As a matter of fact, they readily take advantage of any expedient which appears to them to be a real improvement. They will not, however, take a novelty on trust. They must be convinced that it is better than that which it is intended to supersede, or they will leave it alone. When steam navigation was introduced into Chinese waters the public speedily discerned its advantages and lost no time in availing itself of them. Though the Chinese have seen but little of railways, they have already decided as to their merits. 'Last year,' says Mr. Colquhoun, 'immediately after its opening, I travelled several times over the Pekin-Tientsin line, and found the new means of conveyance so much in favour that crowds were travelling to and fro for the mere novelty of the thing;*' and we can confirm Mr. Colquhoun's statement from earlier personal experience. The Chinese have been charged with stolid indifference to the advantages of the Western postal system. This is not deserved. Their attitude towards the post office affords a striking proof of their intelligence. When a Chinaman wishes a letter to reach its destination soon he sends it by the quickest way; but he knows that a large percentage of letters does not require speedy delivery or

* P. 98 (*note*).

early answers. He therefore declines to pay a penny for the conveyance of a letter within twenty-four hours, when its conveyance within a week is quite as quick as he desires and can be effected by an unauthorised compatriot for a fraction of a farthing.

Even the official class will utilise foreign appliances when they appear to suit its views—witness arsenals, armaments, and especially the great service known as the Imperial Maritime Customs. Mandarins and ‘literati’ are suspicious of foreign influences which may interfere with their own; and the wealthier classes in China think that money-making, like charity, ought to begin at home; but neither feeling is exclusively Chinese. The position may be thus described. Western capital is seeking investment. To develop the resources of China and meet the convenience of its people this capital is required. The great mass of the population would welcome it. Can proper security be given to it if invested amongst them?

It may have been discerned, from our earlier remarks, that the China problem in reality consists of two questions—one concerning immediate,—and the other future, issues. As regards the immediate, our policy ought to be—and, as we believe, is—that of giving legitimate countenance and protection to our trading interests, and of seeing that our capital, if sent to China, incurs no undue risks. Let us take the ordinary trade first, and see what our Government has been, and is, doing in its interest. ‘The total foreign trade,’ says Lord Charles Beresford (p. 385), ‘has actually doubled ‘since 1888.’ British tonnage ‘to treaty ports in Kwang-tung and Kwang-si’—to take one instance only—rose from 4,318,553 in 1893 to 4,838,667 in 1897, the figures being taken from returns not cited to give proof of prosperity.* In 1897 the tonnage fell; the British by 3,400, and the much smaller foreign tonnage by 100,000. Now, as we are credited with some 80 per cent. of the total trade, we must have obtained a good share of the doubling since 1888; whilst the smaller proportionate decline in British tonnage of the particular section mentioned shows that, as compared with our competitors, we did not fare very badly.

We wish not to be misunderstood. It is possible, nay, probable, that, but for obstruction on the part of the mandarins, the figures would have been still better; but it certainly does seem that, as far as the influence of the

foreign Governments represented at Peking are concerned, that of our own has been exerted with an effect not inferior to that of any other. We venture to think that this view will be concurred in by those who study the official papers.

That our Government, at any rate whilst present conditions endure, must continue to use pressure in furtherance of our trade cannot be doubted. To its proposed future action, as indicated by the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs in his speech in Parliament, we shall come later on. As regards the investment of capital for the developement of the resources of China, we are met by conditions of a peculiar kind. We can, perhaps, best make our meaning clear by giving a somewhat homely illustration. When a large municipal area is to be served with some new convenience—gas lighting, water, electricity, &c.—it is not uncommon to divide it into districts within each one of which a separate service may be installed on certain terms. It is not so many years since the Electric Lighting Act was passed that it will have been forgotten how different parts of the Metropolis were assigned to different lighting companies. These parts constituted the ‘sphere of interest’ within which each corporate association was to invest its capital in the working of the business which it had been formed to conduct. Security in the form of freedom from undue interference was given to the investors. One sees at once the advantages and, for the matter of that, the necessity of this procedure. Needless clashing of interests was avoided: and the risk of waste and extravagance due to overdoing the particular service in any area was reduced to a *minimum*.

As long as the whole of the Chinese territory covered, as far as international trade is concerned, by the treaties to which we are parties, is kept as accessible to British commerce as it has been hitherto, the policy of the ‘open door’ has been adhered to. There is no evidence to make us think that this has not been done. We can still resort to the established treaty ports; and additional places of trade have been opened. British merchants, it is true, apprehend, perhaps not quite unreasonably, the interposition of artificial obstructions to the natural increase of their business in the region that is, or may be, overshadowed by Russia. Happily this danger, which we cannot entirely ignore, has not been inconveniently felt as yet. The attempts made by Russian and French consular officials to

interfere with British owners or occupiers of land have been consistently withstood.*

The institution of 'spheres of interest' has been concurrent with the maintenance of the 'open door.' We have engaged not to seek, on our own account or on behalf of others, for railway concessions to the north of the Great Wall, and not to obstruct Russian applications for such concessions in that region. Russia has made an identical engagement as regards ourselves in the basin of the Yang-tze.† Thus two spheres of railway interest have been instituted—the one Russian and the other British. Our trade continues to go on at Newchwang, and the Russian tea-trade at Hankow has been undisturbed. There does not seem to be any general apprehension of any clashing between the 'sphere' policy and the 'open-door' policy. 'Our trade,' said Mr. Brodrick in the House of Commons on June 10, 'goes wherever it has gone before, and even to 'places where it formerly did not go. . . . No door has 'been closed, and as regards access to treaty ports in 'China, we hold the Chinese Government to the Treaty 'of Tientsin.'

Mr. Brodrick followed up these statements with a remark which deserves special attention. He said:—'We are ready 'to continue to do everything we diplomatically can to 'induce the Chinese Government to move forward for the 'benefit of the Chinese people,' and he referred to 'the 'immense amount of good that had been effected' in the last eighteen months. Here we have a clear, public, and official declaration of the diplomatic attitude assumed by Great Britain in the Far East. The days when our fellow-countrymen in China were left to push their interests themselves, and received from the representatives of their own Government only such support as was comprised in a determination to obtain security for their persons and property—these days are past. British enterprise in China has now to contend against something more than the predilection for seclusion of certain classes and interested obstruction by a corrupt bureaucracy. It has to struggle with rivals to whom *laissez faire* is an idle phrase, and who are

* Beresford, pp. 59, 112, 155; 'China,' No 1. (1899), pp. 312, 354.

† Treaty Series, No. 11, 1899; also 'China,' No. 2 (1899), p. 89, &c.

ready to accept any help likely to bring them success in a keen competition.

We believe that our fellow-countrymen would have gladly dispensed with diplomatic support for their undertakings, had not the action of their competitors compelled them to look for it. Anyone who has been in China will have observed the readiness of our business men there to complain of the lukewarmness of our diplomatists and consuls. Almost, if not quite invariably, this is merely a form of that grumbling to which Englishmen are in general addicted; and is indulged in largely as a relief for feelings disturbed by some recent contrariety encountered in the grumbler's occupation. As farmers complain of the weather, and sailors 'growl' at everything in general and nobody in particular, so our China merchants grumble at the Consular body and the Legation at Peking. A visitor who takes their diatribes seriously would suspect that minister and consuls were engaged in a permanent conspiracy to betray the interests of their country.

A little more experience and observation of the respect really felt for their officials by our fellow-subjects resident in the Chinese Empire will effectually dispel this belief. It is to be regretted that Lord Charles Beresford should have lent the weight of his name to its perpetuation. Though he holds (p. 344) that 'the British merchant is too harsh in his judgement on this question,' he has, nevertheless, accepted and circulated with little modification the complaints or charges made. A letter in the official papers* seems to show that he passed these charges on to her Majesty's Minister. Sir Claude MacDonald's reply is tinged with a resentment which no one will think unnatural:—

'I repeat what I said to you when here: not a single *bond-fide* or approximately practical scheme which has been brought to this Legation has failed to be put through. Every single *bond-fide* complaint from the treaty ports has been looked into and settled. There are some three or four now being investigated, and I hope for an early settlement.'

To let the above be known is simple justice; and Lord Charles himself accepts (p. 349) the view of the consuls that 'The system [found fault with] works well with the 'Chinese, as they appreciate the fact that we [British 'consuls] are not always bullying them on behalf of our 'nationals as the consuls of other powers often do.' At

* 'China,' No. 1 (1899), p. 344.

the same time—as already indicated—we quite agree with Lord Charles Beresford when he says, that ‘we have arrived at a time when the British Government will seriously have to consider whether the system of non-intervention hitherto pursued should not be modified. Up till now private enterprise has brought Great Britain to her present superior commercial position, and, therefore, the existing system has been a success. Conditions change, however, and policies should change with them.’ We no longer concur with Lord Charles where he thinks that the policy has not been changed. As a matter of fact it has been; and the official documents prove this fully.

A careful perusal of the books which we have already cited, of the despatches, and of the representations of the various bodies and individuals interested in British trade with China enables, indeed compels, us to arrive at a conclusion in the highest degree flattering to our business men in that empire. We have not lighted upon the smallest trace of any jealousy of the trade-successes of other nationalities. Our fellow countrymen in the Far East are quite aware of the progress which has been made by their competitors; but they invariably deal with it in an unenvious and even friendly spirit. This is all the more creditable to them as their attitude in this respect stands out in marked contrast with that of the other foreign communities. Even the Germans, as shown by the memorandum submitted, with the approval of, if not by, the Imperial Government to the Reichstag, occasionally exhibit an unworthy jealousy which can descend to the promulgation of demonstrable fictions.* What—as above noted—does alarm and incense British merchants in China is the ill-concealed policy of other nations, *e.g.* of Russia and France, intended to obstruct or frustrate our legitimate business operations. In the recent debate Sir Edward Sassoon and Mr. Keswick, both of them men who can claim the highest authority on the commercial affairs of China, gave vent to these feelings: ‘No one,’ said Sir Edward, ‘who knew anything of the traditional fiscal system of Russia would believe that British trade and enterprise in Northern China, and wherever that power gained a footing, would meet with anything but the shortest of shrifts.’ Mr. Keswick trusted that it might be

* The memorandum will be found at p. 3; the triumphant refutation of its fictions at pp. 72, 73, of ‘China,’ No. 1 (1899).

possible 'to arrange for the *universal observance* of the 'Treaty of Tientsin. It was the *observance over the whole* 'of China of the tariff provided by that treaty that he 'regarded as the open door.' The phrases which we have italicised are significant.

Our diplomacy in, or as concerned with, China must take two forms. We have to negotiate with the Chinese Government to secure our treaty rights against what may be termed internal infringement; and we have to negotiate with other powers against external infringement. The correspondence published with the papers already quoted gives us many illustrations of the diplomatic methods which we have been forced to adopt. When we fence with Russia or France, China has to stand between the points of the foils. Each lunge is made, as it were, through the body of the Tsungli-Yamên.

The state of affairs in China is not of a kind to evoke hilarity, or we might see something comical in the ingenuity with which granting a concession to one nation is followed up by demands from another. 'If this concession [the 'Pakhoi-Nanning Railway] is made to the French,' says Lord Salisbury to Sir Claude MacDonald, 'the opportunity 'appears favourable for insisting upon the opening of 'Nanning.'* Sir Claude warned the Yamên, if 'only the 'powers which showed no regard for her (China's) integrity 'obtained concessions, and those which exhibited forbearance were left out in the cold, that we should have to 'protect ourselves and demand our share' (p. 103). We have learned the trick from the Germans and the Russians; and it is not easy to see how, in justice to ourselves, we could avoid having recourse to it.

To tell the truth, one has to be equipped with a certain amount of cynicism, or, at any rate, with a certain robust indifference to the nicer considerations of graciousness and compassion, to be able to read without repugnance the recent history of China's foreign relations. Yet it must be admitted that the treatment received is no worse than that country deserves. For national weakness, born of corruption and ineptitude, there is no mercy to be expected from either gods or men. We do not stop even to moralise on fallen greatness. It is enough if we forget former arrogance. What concerns us is the manner in which our own representatives have borne themselves in the struggle

which has had the Tsungli-Yamên for its centre. The disorganisation of an ancient polity is not our fault. It is due to the venality, rapacity, and timidity of a literary bureaucracy — to the results of ages of competitive scholastic examinations and inveterate contempt of the military virtues.

Whatever may have been the defects of our policy in China—and none pointed them out with greater candour than the Government's own supporters—it is only fair to allow that, for the last eighteen months, Mr. Brodrick's own period, it has given little occasion for unfavourable criticism. Lord Charles Beresford's objections to it, stated in the debate of June 9, constituted rather a general railing against the Government's whole attitude towards Russia and China than the formulation of any specific charge of impolicy. Against his opinions may be set those of Sir Edward Sassoon and Mr. Keswick. The former thought 'the Government were to be congratulated on the spirited efforts they had made to uphold British rights.' Mr. Keswick held that the Government 'had done a great deal for the promotion of British interests.'

We ourselves are of opinion that the Government has come very well out of the recent negotiations with both China and Russia. We think it unlikely that any fair-minded reader can examine the papers presented to Parliament without coming to the conclusion that both Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour have shown, in their direction of the negotiations, the astuteness and firmness which were needed. Without actually saying this, Sir Edward Grey, speaking on behalf of the official opposition in the late debate, virtually admitted it. He spoke with approval of the conclusion of the railway agreement with Russia, and of the Government proposals—the result, of course, of negotiation with the Tsungli-Yamên—regarding the Yangtze. It is unnecessary to quote from the official papers every instance of action on the part of Lord Salisbury befitting the character of an English Minister for Foreign Affairs; but we may give one. Sir Claude MacDonald is instructed to inform the Yamên that

'No matter under what regulations, we cannot agree that any British property should be given over to be administered by the French, and in refusing this demand we will support the Chinese aterially' ('China,' No. 1 (1899), p. 331).

As to the action of Sir Claude himself, we could point to many pages of the Blue Book which bear witness to the

industry, vigilance, and firmness with which he supported the interests of his country when negotiating at Peking.

Mr. Brodrick, during the debate to which we have referred more than once, justly complimented our Minister on his success in getting the transit-pass system laid down, so that 'goods coming from outside by one payment are freed from the extortion to which they might be subject in the inland waters of China.' This abatement of the nuisance hitherto found inseparable from the *li-kin* collection is not the least amongst the services which our Minister has rendered to his fellow-countrymen. The *li-kin* duties are a sort of *octroi*, or local customs' duties, exacted upon goods in transit after the regular Custom-house demands at the port of importation have been satisfied. The facilities of extortion, in a country where the officials live upon 'squeezes,' can be easily divined from the following description given by Mr. Jamieson in a report quoted by Mr. Colquhoun (p. 163, *note*): —

'In some places, as along the lower parts of the Grand Canal, the barriers follow one another at intervals of twenty miles or so. In other places, where trade is scanty and the barriers can be turned by *détours*, there are few, if any. A tariff is arranged, and is supposed to be published for general information, but nothing is more difficult than to get accurate information from the merchants or officials on this point. In point of fact, neither party seems to pay much attention to the authorised tariff. Nearly all boats are passed by a system of bargaining; the officials ask so much, the merchants make a bid, and they haggle till they come to terms.'

No wonder then, as Mr. Colquhoun tells us, that 'The heavy internal taxation has always acted like a paralysis on foreign trade before it could reach a few miles inland from the treaty ports' (p. 162). The *li-kin*-duties are legal; it is the mode of levying them which is so monstrous. The head of the Imperial Maritime Customs is arranging for the collection of these dues in a region in which we have specially large business interests. This promises to introduce an improvement which will have a good effect in two directions. Irregular exactions will be replaced by an ordered system, and the revenue collected will be secured against the speculation of Mandarins, and be available for the service of the empire. This most beneficial change is due to the intervention of the British Government, and its practical fulfilment has been made possible by the action of that most capable and eminent man Sir Robert Hart.

The announcement, made in the debate of June 9 by
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Mr. Brodrick, of the intentions of the Government with respect to the Yangtze, has been received with deserved approval. The plans indicated were 'specially welcomed' by Sir Edward Grey. They were thus described in Mr. Brodrick's speech :—

'We propose, therefore, as regards the Yangtze Valley, to proceed as follows. We hold the Chinese Government to their undertaking not to alienate any of the provinces in the Yangtze basin to any other power, and to permit the extension of the Burma railway into Yunnan, which will connect us with Chin-Kiang, whenever British investors desire to make it—that is to say, whenever we demand the extension, the Chinese Government will fulfil their pledge. We regard the improvement of the gorges of the Yangtze as a question, under arrangement with the Chinese Government, for British engineers. Experiments are shortly to be tried. We have at present three gunboats on the Yangtze River, besides such men-of-war as may be at Shanghai. We shall keep what force is considered necessary between Ichang and the mouth of the Yangtze, and we shall consider whether gunboats can be maintained above the gorges at Ichang. These measures will be purely precautionary, and, it will be understood, they are taken with the object of giving security to our merchants and traders.'

Mr. Brodrick's remarks make it evident that, whilst keeping the 'door open,' the Government is resolved to make the 'sphere of interest' policy effective. 'I deny,' he said, 'on behalf of the Government, that we have abandoned the 'one policy or adopted the other.' 'We are endeavouring 'to secure,' he had previously stated, 'and so far we have 'secured, that a full share of railway and mining concessions shall fall to British investors. Secondly . . . we 'shall endeavour to provide that trade shall be free from 'undue taxation. . . . Thirdly, we are looking forward to 'the opening of inland waters, besides the Yangtze, and 'ports that are not now treaty ports to trade.' *

The present position in China may, then, be considered satisfactory; but the solution of the problem is not complete. The future must be looked to. Even if we could ensure the continuance of existing conditions, we should but prolong a state of things in which the assertion of every right tends to assume the character of an angry diplomatic wrangle, and in which insidious attacks upon our commercial prosperity are always to be apprehended.

* It is odd that, in the debate, no one laid stress on our important diplomatic victory in securing Sir R. Hart's succession to an Englishman.

Moreover, as we began by saying, there are larger issues to be thought of. The preservation of the Chinese Empire—shorn as it may have been by recent spoliation—concerns our own position in Asia. Mr. Brodrick alluded to this, when speaking in the House of Commons on June 9, in terms—justifiably vague, considering his office—which lead us to hope that all that is involved in it is perceived. ‘Our position in this matter,’ he said, ‘is very clear, because the issues are very great.’

As in the House of Commons, so throughout her Majesty’s dominions, there is, we believe, a practically unanimous desire that the independence of China should continue. Based on trade considerations alone, this is of immense importance to our Australasian colonies, as well as to the United Kingdom. British Australasia must, and does, look to China for an early and great expansion of its commerce. The questions are: Is this continued independence possible? and, if possible, how is it to be ensured? As to the former, authorities differ; and, even if it be decided in the affirmative, there will be still greater difference as to the latter. In a most valuable letter, published in the ‘Times’ on June 8, Captain Younghusband—whose competence as to this subject no one will dispute—says, ‘We cannot preserve the integrity of China.’ It is ‘too old, too rigid, too conservative.’

We shall see further on that Captain Younghusband himself does not entirely abandon the hope of a continuance of Chinese independence, though he is too well acquainted with the real state of affairs to countenance the idea that Great Britain alone can ensure it. Let us examine the conditions. It must be understood at the outset that the ‘break-up’ of China can be effected only by partition. We are not to allow ourselves to be misled by the altogether different and inapplicable case of India, which supplies no precedent that can be usefully referred to in connexion with that of China. India—when strangers from the West first established their influence or supremacy there—was a collection of different kingdoms, dynasties, religions, and races. It is a commonplace of modern history, that one intrusive people after another gained the upper hand by playing off rival powers in the country against each other. In China we can look for nothing of the sort. The government, the people, the culture, are, beyond precedent, homogeneous. There are some ethnological varieties; but they are virtually obliterated by the immense numerical preponderance of the

leading race ; and the millions of Mahommedans—numerous, considered absolutely—supply hardly a tenth, perhaps, of the whole vast population. If the dynasty were removed, there is nothing in the country to put in its place. Though the plundered inhabitants of a district will rise in insurrection against their despoilers, there is no sort of probability that one province would act against another for the purpose of putting the family of some mandarin in the seat of the reigning Manchu.

As 'break-up' means nothing but partition, let us see what partition, in its turn, must mean. The partitioning powers would have to administer and defend the booty which might fall to their share. The trade of each must be either admitted to, or excluded from, the territories in occupation of the others. If admitted, the advantages of holding large areas will be greatly diminished. If the trade is not admitted, there will be extensive frontiers, studded with custom-houses, separating necessarily envious rivals. With one exception, every power that would join in the partition will have to depend exclusively on sea communication. Is it not certain that, in these circumstances, the more essentially maritime powers will restrict their occupation as far as possible, and will not go beyond easy reach of the sea ? The one power that will not be obliged to impose upon itself such a restriction is Russia ; and if China is to be partitioned, Russia must receive all that others cannot occupy effectively. The result will be a Russianised China, fringed—on the sea and on the great river banks—with the relatively diminutive possessions of other nations, virtually offered by them as hostages to Russia, and held almost at the latter's good pleasure.

We are not likely to undervalue the efficacy of sea-power. We know that whatever protection the maritime States of the West can give to their interests in the Far East must ultimately rest upon it. At the same time we have no right to expect from it the impossible. The establishment of a great military power connected with its true base by land—that is to say, with its communications unassailable by sea—the establishment of such a power on the frontiers of the distant continental dependencies of other nations would constitute a serious menace to them. When the first power, in addition to its own resources, can virtually dispose of those of the Chinese Empire, or even of great part of it, the state of the dependencies in question could not be other than precarious. Naval superiority can prevent their com-

plete absorption, but it cannot prevent their molestation from the land side, or insure the inviolability of their inner frontiers.

It is obvious that the interests of all the maritime States which have trade connexions with China are directly opposed by the aims of Russia. We have Count Mouravieff's own word for it that Russia's interest in China is 'political,' whilst England's is 'commercial.'* Germany, Japan, the United States, and Italy, not to mention other countries, may well ask, 'What about *our* interests?' Each has a considerable trade, and in some cases—notably in those of Germany and the United States—that trade promises to expand. We are quite ready to admit that good government, even if introduced by Russia, makes for the advantage of commerce; but the good government must be accompanied by equitable commercial legislation. Probably no one, not even a Russian, doubts that the trade of, say, Germany in China would have a much better chance of increasing under a moderately improved Chinese administration strictly adhering to existing treaties than under the best possible Russian institutions combined with, to use Sir Edward Sassoon's phrase, Russia's 'traditional fiscal system.'

We see that, whilst Russia is on one side, all the maritime commercial powers are necessarily on the other. The maintenance of an independent China is as necessary to any one of the latter as to all the rest, because nothing but the predominance of Russia's 'political' interests can be substituted for it. As the industrial developement of the Czar's dominions proceeds and commercial expansion becomes more and more essential to their welfare, even in their case the political will be in conflict with the commercial interests. It is impossible to see how the absorption of China by Russia can benefit the latter interests in the end. Russians, no doubt, think that it will; but they have no monopoly of political wisdom and foresight.

Community of interest is more effective than any formal diplomatic instrument. There is no reason, that we know of, why there should be any definite agreement between the commercial powers to defend interests which not one of them can venture to neglect. If they all find themselves in the same camp, it is because of necessity, and not from choice. The result should be the evolution of a powerful influence working to prevent the break-up of China. The

* China, No. 2 (1899), p. 11.

urgent question therefore is, How is this to be effected? We may dismiss at once—as far as this country is concerned—any idea of converting the Yangtze Valley, or, indeed, any extensive region, into a kind of Egypt. If we cannot do this, we may be sure that no other maritime nation can. Notwithstanding what has been alleged, we do not think that Lord Charles Beresford has really proposed that we should attempt it. He has not been always successful, either in his book or in his speech of June 9, in making his meaning clear. Lucidity is not his strong point in writing, and in oratory it rarely goes with rollicking invective.

Lord Charles, however, makes it clear enough that honest financial administration and an efficient military establishment are indispensable if Chinese autonomy is to be preserved. We cordially agree with him. We will show on what conditions we think that the introduction of both is feasible. There is evidently a party amongst the Chinese the members of which are convinced of the necessity of reforms. The most striking passages in Lord Charles Beresford's book are to be found in the address of the Chinese merchants doing business at Hong-Kong. It can be seen that these gentlemen are still attached to the customs of their race, and are in no way Europeanised renegades. This makes their arguments in favour of reform the more deserving of attention. They not only affirm that 'the revenue system of China is notoriously bad,' but also show why there is and must be speculation on a scale elsewhere unknown. When a minister 'of Cabinet rank does not get any more than 50*l.* a year as salary,' and a viceroy, whose necessary expenses amount to some 15,000*l.*, receives in pay and allowances not more than 1,300*l.*, we know what to expect.

The progress made in China by the spirit of reform has been more conspicuously illustrated by events occurring where they were least expected. It is not often that a Blue Book contains anything so interesting as the history of the Emperor's attempts at reform and the Palace counter-revolution, or *coup d'état*, at Peking. In June 1898 Sir Claude MacDonald, when forwarding translations of 'two noteworthy decrees' of June 11, observed that they showed 'that a real need for radical reform is thoroughly recognised by the Court at last; but,' he added, 'there is little reason to hope that the Imperial admonitions will move the Chinese bureaucracy deeply.' The general

features of the story; the Emperor's adoption of a programme of reforms; the struggle between the old Conservative party in the Palace, headed by the Dowager-Empress, and the party of reform; the failure of the latter's efforts; and the final triumph of the Imperial lady, with the accompanying destruction of some of the more prominent innovators; these are all too widely known to require retelling now. The whole story recalls a page of Gibbon, and in reading the despatches in which it has been narrated we are carried back nearly twelve hundred years, and transported to the shores of the Bosphorus in the eighth century. The drama enacted at Peking in 1898 repeats, in some of its scenes, the greater tragedy of Irene and Constantine.

The party of reaction prevailed, but the innovating movement has left behind it traces which cannot be entirely erased. In a memorandum of Mr. Cockburn, Chinese Secretary of our Legation at Peking,* we find the important suggestion that 'it may be that the Empress-Dowager's hostility to reform is either unfounded or exaggerated; that she has merely become convinced that the Emperor's hasty changes cannot be carried out without exciting grave discontent and, possibly, rebellion.' There have been signs since the *coup d'état* that make for the correctness of this suggestion. At the same time the reform party outside the Palace still exists in China. As lately as June 8 of this year the report of a conversation with the reformer Kang Yu-wei—whose brother was one of those put to death by the reactionaries, and who himself escaped with difficulty—was published in the 'Times.' Speaking of the reformers, he said: 'Their activity had, of course, been checked and very much hampered by the recent *coup d'état*, but they were not extinguished.' Even Captain Younghusband does not altogether despair of the reformation and continued autonomy of China. 'If,' he says, 'contrary to all expectations, China should prove herself strong and wise enough to open her doors to the civilised world, at least as much as we Europeans open ours to her, and if she shows herself capable of affording as efficient protection to those who enter by them as we afford to her subjects in our country, then the necessity for exerting our influence will not arise.' This is not sanguine, but, at least, it admits the possibility of a reformed and independent China.

* China, No. 1 (1899), p. 309.

The conditions, then, are the existence of an earnest and, according to Kang Yu-wei, organised party in China favouring reform; the conviction in the Palace itself that changes are necessary; and the probability, if not certainty, that the necessity is admitted even by the reactionaries, whose real desire seems to be, not to prevent change altogether, but to avert the dangers of undue haste in effecting it. What China wants to enable her to complete the improvements in her polity—without which the continuance of her autonomy is impossible—is time. The administrative improvements immediately called for, considerable though they may be, are not stupendous. Everyone asserts—in accord with the native gentlemen at Hong-Kong already cited—that the indispensable preliminary of beneficial change is the institution of suitable remuneration for official services. ‘No reform,’ we learn from Kang Yu-wei himself, ‘could be hoped for until the Mandarins were paid ‘proper salaries. They must “squeeze” at present to live.’

This could be effected, probably without serious difficulty, if the revenue system were altered for the better. The Hong-Kong Chinese affirm that ‘the revenue system of ‘China is notoriously bad. The total revenue received into ‘the Imperial Treasury scarcely represents three-tenths of ‘what is levied by officials throughout the country.’ Lord Charles Beresford (p. 356) reports that ‘China is not so ‘much overtaxed as badly taxed, and all that she requires ‘is advice and assistance in reorganising her finances.’ The great success of the system administered by the Imperial Maritime Customs, and the fact that this is being extended to the *li-kin* collection, point out the direction in which improvement is to be looked for. It is Chinese who say that if she could be persuaded to place the collection of her inland revenue, crown rents, and taxes in the hands of a competent establishment, somewhat after the fashion of the Imperial Maritime Customs, ‘it would prove the salvation ‘of China as a nation.’ This we believe, and we also have some ground for believing that Sir Robert Hart considers such an arrangement feasible.*

We live in an age in which perfection in administration

* In his most valuable book—‘The Far Eastern Question’ (London, 1896)—Mr. Valentine Chirol, speaking of the Maritime Customs, says: ‘Other branches of the financial administration will have to be dealt with in the same way if the Chinese Empire is to be preserved, not for its own sake, but for the sake of European peace’ (p. 106).

will not save a country from spoliation if its neighbours be inclined to rapacity. So that, no matter how thoroughly China may reform its government, there is little hope of its independence being preserved if it has not the means of defending it. Lord Charles Beresford gave sound advice to the officials who consulted him when he urged them to reform their military system, and most wisely endeavoured to dissuade them from wasting money on a navy, which cannot be of much use to them, and on heavy and costly armaments for coast fortifications, which would not save the country any more than they did in 1894 from the assaults of a formidable enemy. We hold that the success of our countryman, Admiral Lang, in training the Chinese navy—hampered as he was by innumerable difficulties not likely to be encountered now, and got rid of before his mission was complete—shows that the reform of the military establishment is quite possible. We do not advocate the execution of this by Englishmen alone, or even by Englishmen at all if acceptable advisers and instructors can be found elsewhere; but we do insist upon its feasibility.

Now, in the contention that the financial and military reformation, admitted on all sides to be urgently required, can be effected, there is no suggestion of the desirability or necessity of a *condominium*. Even if we were arguing in favour of that arrangement we should not be scared into silence by references to the totally different case of Crete. There the 'Concert of Europe' proved to be a prolonged exhibition of national jealousies, because interests were so different and so conflicting. In China the interests of the maritime commercial powers are, and must be for a long time, really identical, the identity becoming better and better understood as time goes on. For us to attempt to do in China what we have done in Egypt would, in our opinion, be madness. To extend to the whole financial and fiscal system of China the methods of the Imperial Maritime Customs would be merely a change in degree and detail, not in kind or in policy. No special responsibility would be assumed by any one nation any more than it has been assumed by countenancing the Customs administration, whilst all—foreign nations as well as the Chinese—would be benefited. The methods which proved in some ways so unexpectedly successful in the navy could be even more easily adopted for the Chinese land forces.

How is China to get sufficient time to carry out the

reforms in question? It is our opinion that there is a way of doing this, and only one way. The capital must be moved, and preferably to Nan-King. Lest anyone be startled by this suggestion, we may say that a transfer to Si-ngan is said to be in contemplation,* it being believed that the Empress-Dowager longs to escape from the external pressure to which the Imperial Government is exposed at Peking. In the opinion of the reformer Kang Yu-wei, 'If the move to a place so far inland be accomplished, it must subject the Court to the influence of Russia,' but that is the very influence from which the Court wishes to escape. We doubt the Si-ngan story. What is probable is that the abandonment of Peking has come to be thought of, even talked of, in the Palace. Nan-King, once the capital, is far more favourably situated, and is a more suitable position for the administrative centre of a commercial nation. 'This city,' says Wells Williams,† 'is the natural location of an imperial court, accessible by land and water from all quarters, and susceptible of sure defence.'

The unsuitability of Peking has been accentuated by recent events. If the Court remains there there will be little hope of the escape of China from eventual reduction to the status of a Russian proconsulate, a prospect which cannot leave the maritime powers of the West unmoved. We have stated that there are limits beyond which sea power fails to operate. Nevertheless it is a mighty force. Russian absorption of Northern China, if opposed—as their interests demand—by the maritime nations, will remain 'political' in a sense narrower than that which Count Mouravieff himself would attach to the word. Prosperity in the absorbed territory—Siberian railways notwithstanding—will be possible only if there be freedom of ocean communications, without which, for a long time to come, there can be but little commerce. Whether the ocean communications remain free or not will depend upon attitude assumed by, or forced upon, the maritime powers. Not to mention the United Kingdom, Germany, the United States, and Japan, will have good reasons for showing that they have not incurred for nothing the heavy burdens due to forming and keeping up a strong navy.

* Times, June 8, 1899.

† Middle Kingdom, vol. i. p. 101.

